

BYZANTINE ART
AMONG GREEKS AND LATIN
IN SOUTHERN ITALY

HANS BELTING

This article is the unchanged version of a lecture delivered on May 3, 1973 during the Symposium "Art, Letters, and Society in Byzantine Provinces" held at Dumbarton Oaks. Any title which has been published or has come to my knowledge after that date is not included here.

IT is an irony of history that Byzantine art in Southern Italy gained influence on a large scale just a few years after Byzantine rule had come to an end. Bari, the capital of the Byzantine provinces in Italy, surrendered in 1067 to the Normans.¹ Four years later, the new basilica decorated by Byzantine mosaicists summoned from Constantinople was dedicated at Monte Cassino.² Today, Byzantine art in Southern Italy is best documented in Latin church decorations painted either by Latin artists copying Greek models, or by Greek artists hired, or even captured, by Latin patrons such as the Norman Kings of Sicily.³

Even the Greek monasteries of Calabria present themselves in what seems to be an architectural style of the age of the Norman conquerors.⁴ The question of date has not yet been settled for San Marco at Rossano, nor for the Cattolica at Stilo, which might have been a parish church.⁵ One of the foremost Basilian monasteries of Calabria, the Patirion, was founded not under Greek, but under Norman rule.⁶ Though I do not intend to deal with architecture, but only with the figurative arts, I wish to recall here the well-known fact that the large size of the church buildings of the Greek monasteries in Calabria, as well as some of their architectural forms, may be explained by the need to compete with the new Benedictine monasteries of the Norman era in the neighborhood. In short, it is not the monuments of the second Byzantine period, covered roughly by the two centuries between 871 and 1067, but

¹ For general information on the history of Byzantine rule in Southern Italy between the 9th and 11th centuries, cf. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normans (867-1071)*, BEFAR, 90 (Paris, 1904); Vera von Falkenhäusen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1967); A. Guillou, *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1970).

² Cf. H. Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *DOP*, 3 (1946), 163ff., esp. 193ff.; H. R. Hahnloser, "Magistra Latinitas und peritia graeca," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965* (Berlin, 1965), 77ff.; see, for further information and for a reflection of the Cassinese program in the cathedral of Salerno, E. Kitzinger, "The first mosaic decoration of Salerno Cathedral," *JÖB*, 21 = *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1972), 149ff.

³ O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), 369ff. The first general survey of Byzantine art in Southern Italy, seen from a sociological point of view, is that of A. Guillou, "Art et religion dans l'Italie grecque médiévale," in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI s.* (Padua, 1973), 725-58.

⁴ P. Orsi, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria* (Florence, 1929); C. A. Willemsen and D. Odenthal, *Kalabrien. Schicksal einer Landbrücke* (Cologne, 1966); A. Venditti, *Architettura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale: Campania, Calabria e Lucania*, Collana di storia dell'architettura; ambiente, urbanistica, arti, 2 vols. (Naples, 1967). For the Benedictine monasteries, cf. the basic study by H. M. Schwarz, "Die Baukunst Kalabriens und Siziliens im Zeitalter der Normannen, I," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 6 (1942), 1-112.

⁵ For San Marco, cf. Willemsen and Odenthal, *op. cit.*, 95ff., and Venditti, *op. cit.*, II, 860ff. and figs. 500-6; for Stilo, cf. Orsi, *op. cit.*, 113ff., Willemsen and Odenthal, *op. cit.*, 81ff. and pls. 119-23, and Venditti, *op. cit.*, II, 852ff. and figs. 493-99.

⁶ Orsi, *op. cit.*, 113ff., Willemsen and Odenthal, *op. cit.*, 101ff. with pls. 145-51 and figs. 54-56, Venditti, *op. cit.*, II, 930ff. with figs. 552-58, and A. H. S. Megaw, in *Χαριστήριον εις 'Α. 'Ορλάνδον*, III (Athens, 1964), 10-22. For the history, cf. also P. Battifol, *L'abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane* (Paris, 1891), 1ff. and 27ff.

those of the following Norman period which come to mind when we think of Byzantine art in Southern Italy.

The fact that Byzantine art survived the extinction of Byzantine rule on Italian soil may easily be explained by the survival of Greek monasteries, bishoprics, and population which lived on, though often under poor conditions, for several centuries.⁷ More puzzling, however, is the role of the Latin clients, which is better testified to and may have been more prominent than Greek patronage in the peninsula. This apparent contradiction reflects the conditions of cultural as against political influence in general, and that of art in particular. I wish to illustrate this phenomenon with just one example.

The best known single case of a Byzantine artistic import to southern Italy may be seen in the bronze doors that were ordered by various members of one merchant family from Amalfi between 1065 and 1084 for six Latin cathedrals and monasteries.⁸ They were manufactured, as the donor's inscription on the door of Monte Sant'Angelo informs us, in the *regia urbs Constantinopolis*.⁹ Two panels from the Salerno door (figs. 1, 2) may serve to give an insight into such a commission.¹⁰ The Christ panel is purely Greek, not only in its figure style but also in its inscriptions, like the one in the open book with the familiar passage from the Gospel of St. John. On the other hand, the panel with the patron saint of Salerno, St. Matthew, who is flanked by the two donors, has Latin inscriptions identifying the three figures. Consequently, there must have been instructions from the client as well as the consent of the Constantinopolitan workshop to conform to such instructions. The *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino informs us how and why the commission of Byzantine doors came about: "While visiting Amalfi, Desiderius [abbot of Monte Cassino] saw the [Byzantine] bronze doors of the Cathedral . . . and as he liked them very much he soon sent the measures of the doors of the old

⁷ A. Guillou, "Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au moyen âge: les moines," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 75 (1963), 79ff. For the early history of Greek monasticism, cf. S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples, 1963), *passim*. For the church organization, see von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 147ff. Very useful is the historical introduction by Willemsen and Odenthal, *op. cit.*, esp. p. xxii ff.

⁸ Cf., in general, E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), 403ff.; C. Angelillis, *Le porte di bronzo bizantine nelle chiese d'Italia* (Arezzo, 1924); G. Matthiae, *Le porte bronzee bizantine in Italia* (Rome, 1971). The doors of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome and of St. Mark's in Venice have recently been the subject of two monographs: E. Josi, V. Federici, and E. Ercadi, *La porta bizantina di San Paolo*, ed. Direzione Generale dei Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie (Rome, 1967); and B. and F. Forlati and V. Federici, *Le porte bizantine di San Marco*, Procuratoria di San Marco (Venice, 1969). The doors at Amalfi (1065) and those at Monte Cassino (ca. 1066) were commissioned by Maurus of Amalfi, those of San Paolo fuori le mura at Rome (1070) by Pantaleone, son of Maurus, who also financed the doors at Monte Sant'Angelo (1076). Another Pantaleone, called Viarecta, commissioned the doors at Atrani (1087). Cf., for this family, A. Hofmeister, "Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitiss Mauronis in Amalfi," *HV*, 27 (1932), 225ff. and 493ff.

⁹ Matthiae, *op. cit.*, 83. For the doors at Monte Sant'Angelo, see now A. Grabar, "La porte de bronze byzantine du Mont-Gargan et le 'cycle de l'ange'," *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, III (Paris, 1971), 355-68. Also the doors of San Paolo tell us by their inscriptions that they were made in *regia urbe Constantinopoli* and that the artist who designed them was a certain Theodoros, while the caster was a certain Staurakios. On all these inscriptions and on the original composition of the panels of these doors, cf. H. Bloch, "L'ordine dei pannelli nella porta della Basilica di S. Paolo," *RendPontAcc*, 43 (1971), 267ff.

¹⁰ Matthiae, *op. cit.*, figs. 79-80 and p. 93ff.

[Cassinese] church . . . to Constantinople with the order to make those now existing"; the same *Chronicle* tells us that Maurus, the merchant from Amalfi who already had paid for the doors of his native town, also provided the money for the Cassinese doors.¹¹ Byzantine art, in this case, may be regarded as a kind of highly valued merchandise. To acquire it, all that was needed was money. To introduce it into a Latin milieu, all you needed to do was to provide it with Latin inscriptions wherever necessary. The donors of the Salerno doors, understandably enough, wanted their own names to be read by their fellow citizens. They did not, however, bother about the Greek inscription of the Christ panel. The door, judging from its inscriptions, is a bilingual document. Judging from its technique and its figural style, there is but one language, and this language—art—needed no translation. It could even express, when necessary, Latin church programs, as, for instance, in the mosaic cycles of Sicily. Obviously, the currency of Byzantine art did not circulate only within the frontiers of the Empire, nor only among Greek-speaking peoples. The Byzantine artist may well have been offered better conditions by rich Latin patrons than he would have found at home in some poor town of the Greek provinces proper.

If the Latin inscriptions on the doors at Salerno were written by Greek artists in Constantinople, the Greek inscriptions of the earliest *Exultet* Roll at Bari (fig. 3) were written by a Latin artist, or by his colleague the scribe, for a Latin patron in the very center of the Byzantine province.¹² Greek is used intentionally, in this example, in order to match the Byzantine style of the medallion portraits of the Byzantine saints. Thus, these inscriptions imitate Greek ones although there was no apparent need to do so, unless the Latin archbishop wished to demonstrate his loyalty to the Byzantines by having a collection of saints, including several Greek ones, "in Greek dress."¹³ The main text, of course, is written in Latin, and Latin also is the type of roll which owes its very existence to a Latin Easter hymn.¹⁴ Latin, and local, is the ornament, whereas the figural illustrations aim at imitating Greek art though they were painted, without any doubt, by a Latin artist. To quote Bertaux, "Rien ne peut montrer d'une manière plus frappante que cette bande de parchemin comment deux langues, deux liturgies et deux traditions artistiques se sont rencontrées dans la ville apulienne, où résidaient côte à côte le Catapan qui relevait de Byzance et l'archevêque soumis à

¹¹ *Chron. Cas.*, III, 18, in MGH, SS, VII (Hannover, 1846), 711. Cf. the translation by E. G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art* (1947; 2nd ed. Anchor Books: Garden City, N.Y., 1957), 17. The raising of the funds by Maurus is mentioned by the inscription still in existence on the doors.

¹² M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, 1936), 11ff. and pls. iv–xi; G. Cavallo, *Rotoli di Exultet dell'Italia meridionale* (Bari, 1973), esp. 47ff. The latter, which also lists all the earlier literature, is now the standard work on this topic, especially from the textual, palaeographical, and historical points of view. I am very much indebted to Prof. Cavallo for his advice and friendly help, and above all for his generosity to let me read the proofs of his book. Carlo Bertelli, *ibid.*, 65f., provided a stylistic analysis.

¹³ There are twelve saints without inscribed names and further thirty-six with inscriptions, among whom I shall mention the Greek Church Fathers St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil as well as St. Phocas, St. Theophylact of Nicomedia, St. Blasios of Sebaste, St. George and St. Theodore, and St. Luke of Stiris. Cf. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, 52f.

¹⁴ See the Introduction by Cavallo, *op. cit.*, 3ff. and esp. 7ff.

l'autorité de Rome."¹⁵ I should like to go even further. The patron, and also the workshop where our Roll was produced, acknowledged the superiority of Byzantine art by adapting Greek models to a new function and to a new iconography. But, in spite of his preference, the archbishop did not hire Greek artists in order to secure an authentic first-hand version. On the contrary, he consented to receive a second-hand one, done by Latin artists.

The two cases I have examined so far have one characteristic in common. They were both commissioned by Latin patrons, one living within the Byzantine province, the other outside. We should now look for artistic products made for Greek patrons. A case in point is the Rotulus Vat. Borg. gr. 27 (fig. 4). The language of its main text clearly indicates Greek patronage.¹⁶ Moreover, an entry gives us the names of the patrons, Argyros and Semne. But the same entry also mentions for liturgical commemoration the names of the Latin archbishop Alfanus II of Salerno and the Norman duke Roger, which date the Roll to the years 1085–1111. The Vatican Roll, thus, takes us not only to a time beyond the end of Byzantine rule in Italy, but also to a place which had not been under Byzantine control for centuries. While the Latin Roll of Bari was done on Greek territory, the Greek Roll in the Vatican originated on Latin soil. I will come back to these Rolls further on.

The lesson which these Rotuli teach us is very clear. We should never, without additional proof, rely solely on stylistic evidence or language for attributing a given work to the Byzantine provinces. Thus, a painting from a former Byzantine territory may well date from the Norman era. In fact, most of the Basilian cave paintings do not go back to the days of Greek rule.¹⁷ On the other hand, an object from the second Byzantine era in Italy, which leaves us in no doubt as to its date, may well come from the neighboring Latin territory. In this connection I may mention the scriptorium at Capua. Thanks to the entries in the respective manuscripts, it is the best known of all the schools of Greek manuscript illumination outside Constantinople.¹⁸

¹⁵ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 220.

¹⁶ Bibliography: G. Mercati, "Per la storia del contacio di Propaganda, ora Vaticano, contenente la liturgia di san Giovanni Crisostomo," *Rassegna Gregoriana*, 13 (1914), 395ff. (see also the 2nd edition in ST, 78 [1937], 357ff.); P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani* (Rome, 1927), 140f.; A. Strittmatter, in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 198f.; A. Carucci, "Il ricordo di Alfano II nella liturgia greca attestato da un codice vaticano (sec. XI–XII)," *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 24 (1963), 187ff.; A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX^e–XI^e siècles)*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, VIII (Paris, 1972), 47, no. 26 (without illustrations and without detailed analysis). From the art historical point of view, the Roll has never been studied properly. It measures 280 × 23 cm., and is written mainly in silver, sometimes in gold (title, initials), on lengths of parchment dyed purple and blue. The dedication text in part reads: μνήσθητι κύριε Ἀλφάνου ἀρχιεπισκόπου (Alfanus II, 1085–1121) καὶ Ῥωκερίου δούκους (†1111). Later, the Roll was taken to Syria. It was returned in 1816 to Italy and was sold to the pope in 1818. The beginning of the Roll is missing, and there might have been a frontispiece. See *infra*, notes 96 and 97.

¹⁷ A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, 2 vols., Collezione Meridionale diretta da U. Zanotti-Bianco, Ser. III: Il Mezzogiorno artistico (Rome, 1939); G. Gabrieli, *Inventario topografico e bibliografico delle cripte eremitiche basiliane di Puglia* (Rome, 1936); R. de Ruggieri ed., *Le chiese rupestri di Matera* (Rome, 1966).

¹⁸ Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 81. Cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 85ff.

Most of the objects which have come down to us do not provide clear evidence as to their date, and, even less, to their place of origin. A test case is offered by the recent publication by Professor André Grabar,¹⁹ *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX^e–XI^e siècles)*. From among the fifty-one manuscripts included in this book, only eight reveal to us clearly their provenance.²⁰ Since Professor Grabar is content to propose a general Italian origin, we, too, may be well advised to aim no further. Therefore, I plan to extend my area of exploration to the whole of Southern Italy—and to include even Rome—while not losing sight of the main topic of this Symposium, namely the role of the Byzantine province properly speaking. Evidently, there was no iron curtain between East and West. The interrelated Latin and Greek monastic life as well as the organization of the church differed from political administration—a fact we must bear in mind when investigating the vicissitudes of Byzantine art in Italy.

In spite of all these reservations, we may be allowed to inquire into the role played by the Italian provinces of Byzantium in the artistic interchange between East and West. The definition of a province implies the existence of a capital. As Professor Grabar has defined it, provincial works are those “qui, avec retard et moins d’art, suivent les modèles de la capitale.”²¹ At this point, the next problem comes in sight. What is to be regarded as metropolitan art, and for what periods are we able, or even entitled, to presuppose a predominant influence of the capital on the artistic production of the whole of the Empire?

In fact, we have no clear idea of what Constantinopolitan art was like before the late ninth century.²² We may even suspect that it did not develop before that time into a dominant factor. Not much is left of any artistic production in southern Italy which we can date before the Byzantine “reconquista” in 871. Still, there are exceptions, as, for instance, what seems to be the earliest surviving specimen of Byzantine painting in Southern Italy. The fresco which I discovered some years ago at Castellamare di Stabia is closely related to paintings of better workmanship in S. Saba, a Greek

¹⁹ See note 16.

²⁰ Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 9f. A short summary of the book is given by its author, “Les manuscrits grecs enluminés provenant d’Italie (IX^e–XI^e s.),” *CRAI* 1970 (1971), 401ff. Since Professor Grabar has not singled out the manuscripts which are dated as well as provided with a “lieu d’origine,” I give the following list to assist the reader: Vat. gr. 1666, Rome, 800 (no. 10); Patmos gr. 33, Reggio, 941 (no. 11); Vat. gr. 1633, Bisignano, 983 (no. 14); Vat. gr. 2020, Capua, 973 (no. 15); Vat. gr. 2138, Capua, 991 (no. 16); Florence, Laur. Plut. XI.9, Calabria, before 1021 (no. 19); Paris. suppl. gr. 343, Calabria, 1026/27 (no. 25); Monte Cassino gr. 431, Cassino, 1011/35 (no. 38). Of course, more or less safe attributions are quite possible, but the attested *specimina* are not more than the ones listed above.

²¹ Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 96.

²² An excellent survey of the artistic development in the centuries preceding Iconoclasm was given by E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm*, Berichte zum XI. Internat. Byzantinistenkongress, München, 1958, IV.1 (Munich, 1960). The most complete survey of the material in existence is found in V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), *passim*. Lazarev, however, applies the concept of the capital holding a dominating position also to the earlier centuries. For a criticism of this theory, see the review by the present author, in *ZKunstg*, 35 (1971), 330ff.

monastery in Rome, and, therefore, may be safely dated to the early eighth century.²³ The Roman frescoes, in turn, have been connected with an encaustic icon of unknown origin on Mt. Sinai.²⁴ There seems to be a common source for the three monuments, but any attempt to credit Constantinople with supplying this source remains a mere guess.²⁵ The classic features also displayed in the rest of the S. Saba paintings were used as an argument in favor of Constantinople. The earlier theory, that of an Alexandrian school as a stronghold of Hellenism, which applied to such Roman frescoes as the famous group of the Maccabees in S. Maria Antiqua,²⁶ certainly could not be supported by works of sure Alexandrian origin, such as the frescoes from the Karm Al-Ahbariya, near Abu Mena, in the hinterland of Alexandria.²⁷ On the other hand, the refutation of the Alexandrian theory has made us forget that there existed a continuity of antique artistic tradition, whether Hellenistic in spirit or not, in the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, a tradition that was kept alive even under Arab rule. But this is not all. It may well have been in these Eastern provinces, and also in Italy, that religious art survived the hundred-year struggle for and against icons better than in any other place.

This is the background for the discussion of one of the earliest surviving Greek illuminated manuscripts of Italian provenance, the *Book of Job* in the Vatican Library.²⁸ I wish to point out at once that it dates from the second half of the ninth century, when Iconoclasm was barely ended. The residues of pictorial Hellenism, which are obvious in the initial miniatures (fig. 5) should, therefore, be traced back to models of non-Constantinopolitan origin. If, however, we try to locate such a model geographically, we must simply admit our ignorance. The Vatican manuscript serves well to illustrate the highly confusing state of art-historical investigation on the artistic schools of the early mediaeval Mediterranean. One of its most distinct features is the use of garments in plain gold, organized by only a few straight single or double lines, with no attempt at pictorial modelling (fig. 6). This very feature of the Vatican *Job* is found also in two other manuscripts, one of them the

²³ H. Belting, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei*, ForschKA, VII (Wiesbaden, 1968), 20f. and color plate 1. For the head at San Saba, cf. *ibid.*, fig. 260, and, in the first place, E. Kitzinger, *Römische Wandmalerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1934), 31f.

²⁴ E. Kitzinger, "On some icons of the seventh century," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, 132ff., esp. 139 and note 26 and figs. 9–10a.

²⁵ Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art* (see note 22 *supra*), 27ff. and esp. 29, regards Constantinople as a center with two different stylistic currents, which both spread as from "a fountainhead" to Greece and to Rome.

²⁶ M. Avery, "The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome," *ArtB*, 7 (1924), 131ff. For a refutation of this theory, see Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art*, *passim*.

²⁷ W. Müller-Wiener and P. Grossmann, "Abu Mena. Sechster Vorläufiger Bericht," *AA* 1967, p. 457ff. and esp. 473ff. with fig. 15.

²⁸ See, for full bibliography, P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ST, 261 (Rome, 1970), 480. Cf. esp. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei* (see note 18 *supra*), 77ff., 80f.; R. Devreese ed., *Codices Vaticani graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), no. 749, p. 264f.; Belting, *Studien* (see note 23 *supra*), 242, 245ff., and 248; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 16–20 (no. 1), 82, 88, 94f., and figs. 1–8.

well-known codex Paris. gr. 923 with the text of the *Sacra Parallela*.²⁹ The Paris and Vatican manuscripts are closely related, but art historians disagree as to whether or not this implies a common origin. Professor Grabar, following Professor Weitzmann's original arguments, regards the "Goldgewand" as an Italian feature, since it is represented by two manuscripts of accepted Italian origin.³⁰ Professor Weitzmann is now inclined to identify it as an element of Palestinian tradition and, therefore, assigns the Paris manuscript to Palestine. If Grabar, in order to prove his argument, refers to Roman mosaics of the ninth century, these very same monuments may also be used to prove Palestinian influence on Italy, as Weitzmann now proposes.³¹ In fact, the gold garment seems to provide no conclusive proof of being an Italian feature. Moreover, I wish to draw attention to a revealing difference between the Vatican *Job* and the *Sacra Parallela* in the use of the "Goldgewand," a difference which has not been mentioned before. Whereas the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript uses the "Goldgewand" throughout as a stylistic idiom, the Vatican *Job* makes very little use of it indeed (fig. 5). The gold garments, here, are reserved for Job in his happy days, and thus function as an iconographic trait (fig. 6). The miniaturist, we can perhaps conclude, may have seen a manuscript like the Parisian one, and borrowed from it this very feature but for an altogether different purpose.

We are well advised not to overestimate a single element of style and use it as an argument for the establishment of an artistic school. This point may be illustrated by one example from yet another Mediterranean country. I refer to part of the pictorial decoration of the Coptic Apa Apollon monastery at Bawit in Upper Egypt, which may date from the early seventh century.³²

²⁹ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 80f. and figs. 537–45; Belting, *Studien*, 246ff. with further bibliography; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 21–24, 75f., 87, and figs. 17–22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32–36. The second manuscript is the Gregory of Nazianz, cod. 49–50 in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan: cf. Grabar, *op. cit.*, 20f., and *idem*, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne (Ambrosianus 49–50)*, I, *Album*, Orient et Byzance, IX (Paris, 1943), illustrating all the miniatures.

³⁰ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 77ff., first grouped and named them "Die Gruppe von Handschriften mit goldgewandeten Figuren"; see especially p. 79.

³¹ Professor Weitzmann, now, discerns the existence of a "double-line fold system" developed mainly in Palestine and represented by Parisinus gr. 923, which he dates to the early ninth century and presents as "an example par excellence": "The Ivories of the So-called Grado Chair," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 45ff. and esp. 55f. (with further bibliography), 74, and 83. Weitzmann, too, connects the Parisinus with the mosaics of the Zeno Chapel in Santa Prassede at Rome (p. 76 and figs. 45–46) which are quoted by Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, as evidence for the Roman origin of the manuscripts under consideration. Grabar, in addition, refers to the frescoes of Santa Maria Egiziaca at Rome (*ibid.*, fig. 25) and, finally, to the frescoes at Cimitile (*ibid.*, figs. 27, 31). Indeed, there are striking similarities between the miniatures of the Parisinus and the frescoes at Cimitile. But the present author, who first pointed out these analogies, felt it necessary to look for an explanation, since the frescoes at Cimitile were not, in style, the norm on Italian soil. He, thus, referred to such Greek manuscripts as the Parisinus and the Vaticanus, and assumed that they represented a very peculiar current in the context of the Italian monuments which should be viewed as an imported style. See Belting, *Studien*, 92ff. and 245ff. One should also pay attention to the function of fold systems, which differ greatly when applied to a golden garment or to a white one. The linear quality they assume in such instances is to be explained by the foil which does not allow shading.

³² Chapel XVII, east wall; see J. Clédât, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, MemInstCaire, 12 (Cairo, 1904), pl. XLva.

I choose at random the figure of a saint which displays two very different, even contradictory, manners of organizing the garments (fig. 7). The undergarment is built up of thin, abstract lines on a flat surface, and thus presents exactly the same technique as the "gold garments." The mantle, on the other hand, with its broad brushwork which destroys any appearance of flatness, aims at pictorial modelling. This second mode was equally familiar to the painters of the Vatican *Job*, as is evident from the figure of Eliphaz on fol. 243^v (fig. 8).

If even a single figure, such as that of a saint which I have chosen at random from the many in the frescoes of Bawit, displays side by side several pictorial modes, we must be suspicious of any attempt at identifying an entire artistic province by one such mode. The clue to the location of our manuscripts, if indeed there is a clue, must be sought in elements of book ornament and of iconography, namely in features which are marginal to the evaluation of the style proper. The spiral fillets found in the letters of the Paris manuscript as well as in its architectural motifs are a convenient point of comparison with the West, but cannot by themselves be considered as conclusive.³³ We are on safer ground with the Vatican *Job*. But here, too, we must admit that we have no definite clue to an Italian origin except for a single initial, which has been credited with a Western origin, and some peculiarities in the script of the captions.³⁴ Indeed, one may wonder what we have gained by locating our *Job* manuscript in Italy. As a matter of fact, we should distinguish between the origin of such a manuscript and the origin of its stylistic features, which may have been taken over from a model of quite different descent. Whoever wishes to recognize in the Vatican miniatures a style which was limited to the West but was unknown to the rest of the Byzantine Empire, must bear the burden of proof. At this stage we should be content to detect interrelations between the oriental provinces and Italy. Let us, therefore, leave this argument, but not before noting that nowhere, to my knowledge, does the capital enter into the picture.

But we have not seen all from the Vatican *Job*. The initial miniatures are followed by several groups of miniatures in an altogether different style, beginning with those representing the dialogues of Job and his friends (figs. 9, 10). In place of the multicolored background of antique origin, they introduce the gold background familiar to us from Middle Byzantine manu-

³³ Cf. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, fig. 545, with two MSS from Southern Italy (*ibid.*, figs. 563 and 607). Cf. also Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, figs. 24 and 25, for this motif. One should keep in mind the history of the three MSS under consideration, although even this cannot settle the question of their ultimate origin. The Ambrosianus (see *supra*, note 29) had been at Chios for a while. The Parisinus was bought in 1730 in the Orient. Only the Vaticanus apparently never left Italy (see Belting, *Studien*, 246, for further references).

³⁴ For the one initial, see Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 522. Professor I. Ševčenko kindly called my attention to some irregular letter forms, for instance, a kind of Latin "S," in the captions of the Vaticanus. Such palaeographic anomalies should be given due attention. We should not rule out the possibility that the Vatican *Job* was actually produced at the San Saba monastery at Rome. For comparisons with some fresco remains at San Saba, see Belting, *Studien*, 242 and figs. 275-77.

scripts.³⁵ The figure style, too, changes fundamentally. Instead of using dark shadows, the artists apply broad layers of a light color on top of one, and sometimes two, dark underlayers; I have called this the "sgraffito" manner. It is a well-known provincial style, reflecting, for the first time, the new post-Iconoclastic art as well as the art of the capital itself.³⁶ The figures are constructed much more tightly and regularly. The variety displayed by the first miniatures now disappears and is replaced by the new, uniform style, which must have arrived while work on this *Job* manuscript was in process. Thus, the change from one era to another breaks our manuscript into disconnected parts.

Professor Grabar seems to agree with my view, since he remarks "qu'il y a eu intervention d'un peintre formé au goût et à la technique de l'art byzantin de la fin du IX^e siècle."³⁷ It is, indeed, a sudden intervention, though not so much of other painters as of a totally new idiom. The painters of the second group of miniatures seem to have been ill at ease with the new style and do not yet show its characteristics all too clearly. They obviously had difficulty in handling it properly. Having finally succeeded in adapting to it, as is testified by the third group of miniatures, they again had trouble with the last part of the Vatican *Book of Job*. Here, as in the first two chapters of the book, an old iconographic model had to be followed which may have had no illustrations in its middle part. I cannot trace here the separate stages of this struggle between the basic iconographic pattern and the new stylistic one. It is the arrival of the new style on Italian soil which calls for our atten-

³⁵ The question of the distinction of different hands is far from having been settled, and there is confusion as to how to divide the miniatures into different groups. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, 79, was the first to propose three different groups, the second starting with fol. 38 and the third with fol. 119, each group corresponding to a different scribe. E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, IV (Florence, 1960-62), 192f. and note 1 on p. 193, accepts this division of the miniatures. Grabar, instead, divides the second from the third group not at fol. 119, but at fol. 226 (*op. cit.*, 17f. and 94). Though admitting that there is a third hand beginning with fol. 119, he thinks that "elle n'apporte que de nuances de détail au second style." On the other hand, he is impressed by the return to pictorial formulas as they were used at the beginning, which is evident from fol. 226 onward. This may be explained with the accessibility to an old iconographic model for the "Rahmenhandlung." Thus, the argumentation takes place on different levels and is concerned with different issues. These issues may be summarized as follows: first, the collaboration of different hands, second, the arrival of a new stylistic idiom, and third, the use of an old iconographic model for the first and the last chapters. The miniatures of the Vatican manuscript deserve a more detailed study, which would lead to a clear distinction of the three phenomena listed above. Here, we are concerned with the third group (corresponding to Grabar's second hand of the second group), which, on fols. 119 through 209v, displays the features of the new Byzantine style most clearly. In the last part, the partial adherence to old iconographic and stylistic formulas complicates the matter. I partially agree with Professor Grabar when he remarks of the last group, or sub-group, starting with fol. 226: "l'illustrateur maintient ce style, mais revient aux visions célestes telles qu'on en voit au début du livre, tout en les adaptant au style byzantin des images intermédiaires" (*op. cit.*, 94).

³⁶ Belting, *Studien*, 248f. Also Garrison, *Studies*, 192f., noted that the third current "most excellently represents a provincial Byzantine style." He thus corrected Weitzmann's view of this style as being a "development" toward a more Western style. Grabar, *op. cit.*, 94, regards styles II and III respectively as "une interprétation de modèles antiques par un peintre formé sur des modèles byzantins de 900 environs." I do not agree with such a view, for I am unable to visualize the "ancient models" and even less the formation of the painter in the East. Rather, I would prefer the idea of new stylistic models or model books.

³⁷ Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, 115f. and figs. 80-86. Cf. also A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), 194ff. and figs. 125-36.

tion. The style is also found in other monuments from southern Italy. This poses the question of its distribution and of the role played by the capital in its formation and development.

We first encounter this new style, though in a version less distinct and also more flexible, on a higher level, in the dome mosaics of St. Sophia and in the apse frescoes of St. George in Salonica.³⁸ The first dated manuscript which displays our style fully developed is again an illustrated *Job*, belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice and dated 905.³⁹ Unfortunately, we have no clue as to its place of origin, but we may exclude Italy. The Venetian *Job* is of better craftsmanship than the Vatican one. The new style now appears to be the natural idiom of the painter and is used quite fluently; in other respects, the two manuscripts have much in common. We meet the three-layer technique and also the comb pattern over the legs, interrupted in the middle by a shadow crossing it. The Venetian *Job*, though slightly later than the Vatican one, offers us a firsthand version of the style we are investigating (figs. 11, 12).

The life-span of the new style seems to have been quite considerable. More than half a century later we find this style still alive in a cave painting in southern Italy, at Carpignano near Otranto, which, according to a long inscription, was commissioned by the Greek priest Leon and his family in 959, and executed by the Greek painter Theophylact.⁴⁰ The painter has not understood his model too well, as is shown by Christ's left leg, and, while developing a more ornamental quality, the design has hardened (fig. 13). But the pictorial pattern has remained unchanged.

An intermediary stage is represented by Cappadocian frescoes, such as those at Gülü Dere, which may be tentatively dated around 920.⁴¹ Here, the schematization of our style is already in full progress (fig. 14). The flattening and hardening of what had been a play of light and shadow on three-dimensional bodies is not unlike the result achieved by Theophylact forty years later.

When we compare these frescoes with one of the great masterpieces of Constantinopolitan book illumination from the eighties of the ninth century,⁴²

³⁸ Lazarev, *op. cit.*, 116, and A. Xyngopoulos in 'Αρχ.Έφ., 1938 (Athens, 1940), 32ff.

³⁹ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 51f. and figs. 337–49. It is cod. 538 of the Biblioteca Marciana. Cf. also Lazarev, *op. cit.*, 137.

⁴⁰ Carpignano, Cripta di S. Marina e Cristina (= Madonna della Grazie): cf. Ch. Diehl, *L'art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1894), 33f.; A. L. Frothingham, "Byzantine Artists in Italy," *AJA*, 9 (1894), 32ff. and esp. 41f.; Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, 109ff. and figs. 51–58; Belting, *Studien*, 243f. and fig. 268. The inscription, as read by Guillou ("Notes d'épigraphie byzantine," *StM*, 3rd ser., 11 [1970], 403f.), runs as follows: + Μνήσθητι κύριε τοῦ δούλου σου Λέοντος πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Χρυσολέας, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν. Γραφὲν διὰ χειρὸς Θεοφυλάκτου ὡγράφου μηνὶ Μαΐω ἰνδικτιῶνος β' ἔτους ςυξί' [6467] +. Though the inscription only applies to the portion of fresco in the niche, there can be no doubt as to the homogeneity of the Christ figure in the niche and the two figures of the Annunciation on the adjacent wall.

⁴¹ N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvali Kilise ou pigeonnier de Guelli-Dere," *CahArch*, 15 (1965), 97–154, esp. 99ff., for inscriptions and date. The date, according to the authors, is 913–920.

⁴² Vat. gr. 699, fol. 83v. Cf. C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* (Milan, 1908), 45 and pl. 48; Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 4f. and fig. 16; Belting, *Studien*, 244.

the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes, we discover the ultimate source of our style, which is a pictorial style of the capital, from the early days of the Macedonian dynasty (fig. 15).

The metropolitan language is echoed early in the provinces, as is evidenced by a remarkable Annunciation scene from Chapel 15a in Göreme, Cappadocia, which I do not hesitate to attribute to the last years of the ninth century.⁴³

At the end of the life-span of our style, at Carpignano, the memory of the metropolitan models is still alive. The Angel of the Annunciation still reveals something of the sophistication and liveliness of the Cosmas figures, though the painter is evidently at a loss as to how to hold the rich vocabulary together (fig. 13). Yet, he is abler than his colleagues in Cappadocia, and had he painted his fresco some decades earlier, he would even deserve our respect. In fact, though visibly heading toward a new emphasis on graphic design, he still adheres faithfully to the free play of painterly motifs characteristic of the early Macedonian period, an attitude not all too surprising in an artist who was working for a simple priest in a cave church in the West of the Empire.

His style, however, was not in the least an isolated phenomenon and should not be defined as the idiom of a Basilian cave painter. It is indeed possible to prove its dissemination elsewhere in Apulia, even in regular ecclesiastical buildings erected for Greek patrons, such as the church of S. Pietro at Otranto.⁴⁴ In the fresco decoration of this church, which, as far as I know, is still unpublished, an earlier layer with scenes of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet has been discovered on the barrel vault of the southwest corner room; and it is here that we meet with our painter's workshop again (figs. 16, 17).

If we compare the Washing of the Feet with the same scene at Hosios Loukas in Greece (fig. 18), its adherence to the old standards of the early tenth century becomes all too obvious.⁴⁵ In the Apulian fresco, any clear interrelation between outline and internal design is still lacking. We find here that play of detached highlights which do not adapt to the linear design. At Hosios Loukas, the latter eventually developed into a graphic richness and firm construction of the figures which are still totally absent in the Apulian

⁴³ M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, III (Recklinghausen [n.d.]), 552.

⁴⁴ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 121f. and 379; H. Teodoru, "Eglises cruciformes dans l'Italie méridionale," 2, *ED*, 5 (1932), 22ff.; I. P. Marasco, "Affreschi medioevali in S. Pietro d'Otranto," *Annali dell' Università degli studi di Lecce*, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia e di magistero, 2 (1964-65), 79-97; Guillou, "Art et religion" (as in note 3 *supra*), 738 and 740, esp. note 10. While Teodoru only deals with architecture, Bertaux mentions, in passing, our frescoes with a date "not before the 14th century," and Mrs. Marasco dates all of them to the Norman period. There are, however, two layers of frescoes, among which those under consideration here belong to the older layer. This earlier decoration is confined to the barrel vault of the northeastern corner room, where the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet occupy the two halves of the vault. Only Guillou seems to have dated our frescoes, on palaeographical grounds, correctly to the 10th century. This is also the dating of the inscription, according to I. Ševčenko, who kindly gave me his opinion during my stay at Dumbarton Oaks.

⁴⁵ E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pl. xii; O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1947), fig. 23. For more recent bibliography and for discussion of the date, see *infra*, note 49.

fresco. Furthermore, the comparison reveals the problems the painter encountered in distributing his figures on the surface of the vault. I need only point out the bent figure of the second seated apostle, who is here placed in a blind corner.

If the negative proof favors my dating of the Otranto painting, the comparison with Carpignano furnishes a positive proof which is even more helpful (fig. 13). Not only is the design of the garments similar in the two frescoes, but their close relationship is equally evident in the types of the faces with their large staring eyes, and the pearled rim of the halos.

Even in the Otranto frescoes our style has not yet died out. Still another specimen of it has survived, again at Carpignano, and this time it definitely displays a kind of petrification. It is a replica of the Christ by Theophylact, with no change except for the reversal of the drapery below the knees, accompanied by a clumsier treatment of the same old motifs. If we did not have the long inscription, which provides us with the name of the Greek painter, Eustathios, and the date 1020, we would never guess that this Christ was painted a full sixty years later than the first.⁴⁶ Thus, I cannot agree with Professor André Guillou, who argues that "la technique est celle des mosaïques d'Hosios Loukas en Phocide."⁴⁷ Though chronologically we have now arrived at the period when the decoration of Hosios Loukas was done, there could not be a more striking contrast than that between the second Carpignano fresco and the contemporary mosaics and frescoes of Hosios Loukas. In fact, we have reached the dead end of the long voyage of a style which, to quote Professor Grabar again, follows models of the capital "avec retard et moins d'art" and which had a wide circulation, as is testified by the Cappadocian examples. After this, we lose track of any further development in the Greek province of Italy. On the other hand, the Hosios Loukas style, or, rather, some features of it, make again their appearance not in a Greek workshop, but in a Latin one.

The Bari Benedictional (fig. 19) is one of two illuminated Rotuli which pose several questions.⁴⁸ It no longer represents Greek artistic activity in the Western provinces. Its Latin artists, though living on Greek territory, were trained in an altogether different tradition, that of Latin book illumination. Thus, we are no longer studying Byzantine art, whether provincial or not, but Byzantine *influence* on Italian art. However, it is precisely through these Latin miniaturists that we grasp the latest artistic development on the Greek mainland and, perhaps, even in Constantinople. One of the questions which immediately arises is whether the actual models used by the Rotuli painters

⁴⁶ Diehl, *L'art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale*, 30ff., and Frothingham, "Byzantine Artists in Italy," 42; Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, 114 and fig. 50. Guillou, "Notes d'épigraphie byzantine," 406ff.

⁴⁷ A. Guillou, "Notes sur la société dans le Katépanat d'Italie au XI^e siècle," *MélRome*, 78 (1966), 463ff.

⁴⁸ Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, 14f. and pls. xii-xvi, and Cavallo, *Rotoli di Exultet dell'Italia méridionale*, 57ff. (with further bibliography). See also the contribution by C. Bertelli, *ibid.*, 65ff.

were available on the spot, and thus reflect the art of the Greek province, or whether they were imported from abroad. The bearing of this question on our main topic is obvious. To answer it, we cannot rely on local products, for they have all vanished. All we can do is to try to get a clearer idea of what the models might have looked like.

The connection between the Bari Rotuli, the *Exultet* 1 as well as the Benedictional, and the pictorial decoration of Hosios Loukas, is an obvious subject of inquiry, since they seem to be close in time. While the date of Hosios Loukas, in spite of recent attempts to fix it at 1011, is still open to discussion, we are on safer ground in the case of the Rotuli.⁴⁹ They reflect, in their ornament, a model from Monte Cassino which is best represented by codex Casinensis 109 (fig. 36), and, therefore, cannot be dated before the late thirties, or even the early forties, of the eleventh century.⁵⁰ Indeed, according to the new reading by Professor Cavallo, the mnemonic entries in the *Exultet* with the names of Byzantine emperors to be commemorated in the liturgy cover the period between 1042 and 1078, with only two intervals of two years each in between.⁵¹ Everybody has observed that the patron Saint of the monastery at Stiris appears among the medallions of saints in the *Exultet* 1 (fig. 3), thus indicating some kind of connection between Bari and Hosios Loukas.⁵² There is, in addition, an obvious similarity with the portrait type of the Saint as preserved in the Greek monastery.⁵³ And, finally, there is a hint at monumental painting in the border band of the Bari *Exultet*, obvious not only in the pure style and type of the medallions of saints inserted in it, but also in the large and heavy ornament—two features which we may trace

⁴⁹ Cf. M. Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc," *CahArch*, 19 (1969), 127–50. A different view is taken by E. Stikas, "Nouvelles observations sur la date de construction du Catholicon et de l'Eglise de la Vierge du monastère de Saint Luc en Phocide," *CorsiRav*, 19 (1972), 311–30. No longer controversial is the origin of the church of the Virgin, which is generally dated to the middle of the 10th century, only that of the Katholikon. Stikas relies on the remark of Cyriacus of Ancona that he found, while visiting the monastery, "in an old book" a record of the foundation of this church by Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–56). Chatzidakis, on the other hand, uses different sources for his dating of the Katholikon to the year 1011. These reveal the name of the hegoumenos Philotheos, who was responsible for the construction of the "new church" (cf. also *idem*, "Précisions sur le fondateur de Saint-Luc," *CahArch*, 22 [1972], 87f.), but they do not disclose his dates. In a talk delivered at Dumbarton Oaks in 1973, Professor C. Mango showed that the *Acolouthia* does not refer to any specific date and thus cannot be used for dating the church to the year 1011. Instead, the text mentions that the translation of the Saint's body is to be celebrated on May 3 and does fall together with the feast of the Ascension of Christ whenever Easter falls on March 25.

⁵⁰ Cf. Belting, *Studien*, 185 and note 9. For codex Casin. 109, see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, I (Oxford, 1929), no. LXIV; P. d'Ancona, *La miniature italienne du Xe au XVIe siècle* (Paris-Brussels, 1925), pls. 2, 3; and also our fig. 36. I seem to be in disagreement with Professor Cavallo, who, although he, too, postulates the use of Cassinese models for the ornament in the Bari Rotuli, dates the *Exultet* 1 to the late twenties of the 11th century on palaeographic grounds (Cavallo, *Rotuli di Exultet dell'Italia meridionale*, 50f.).

⁵¹ Cavallo, *op. cit.*, 48ff., discovered the oldest entry with the name of an emperor. It gives the name Constantine. This cannot be Constantine X, who has a different entry. Thus, it must be either Constantine VIII or Constantine IX. I prefer to connect this entry with Constantine IX which would fit in the otherwise chronologically almost continuous series of entries: Constantine IX (1042–55), Theodora (1055–56), Constantine X (1059–67), and Michael VII (1071–78).

⁵² See, among others, Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, 13; F. Babudri, "L'Exultet di Bari del secolo XI," *ASTPugl*, 10 (1957), 37ff. and esp. 140f.; Bertelli, in Cavallo, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁵³ Compare our fig. 3 and Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, with the bust figure of the Saint among the mosaics of Hosios Loukas (Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, fig. 22).

back to the painted vaults of the crypt of the Greek church.⁵⁴ We should not, therefore, exclude the possibility that model books, or even painters representing this very style, were available to our miniaturists in Bari itself.

So far it has been overlooked that the *Exultet*, with its rich collection of ornament in its border bands, offers the most outstanding proof of its close adherence to Greek models in general and to contemporary Greek monumental painting in particular. In this respect, the Benedictional has already become latinized. The few Greek motifs, which, incidentally, were borrowed from the *Exultet*, now regularly alternate with interlace work of the Beneventan type as represented by the various initials of the text (figs. 19 and 24). Thus, the Benedictional aims at the assimilation of two basically different types of ornament, one Greek and one Latin, whereas in the *Exultet* the text initials are irreconcilable with the painted borders. We may take this as evidence that the Benedictional is the more advanced of the two. It offers a more uniform layout, which is consistent in its use of the ornament. At the same time, it is less dependent on Greek models. The figures in the roundels no longer echo such Byzantine *exempla* as are reflected by the *Exultet*. Furthermore, they are neatly inscribed within the border, as within a soffit. This layout, again, was transferred from the letter ornament, where it had been employed even in the *Exultet* (fig. 20).

If the painter of the Benedictional was less dependent on Greek ornament, he nevertheless did not hesitate to resort to a Greek figure style for his text illustrations. In this respect, he not only imitated his fellow artist, but went even further. Moreover, he used new Greek models, of which no traces can be found in the *Exultet*. On the whole, neither of the Bari Rolls adheres to only one Byzantine style. Instead, both make use of a variety of sources, and this eclecticism is the best proof of their independence from the main stream of the Greek tradition proper.

To begin with, there is a significant difference between the *Exultet* 1 and the Benedictional, however close they may be chronologically.⁵⁵ If we compare the two Christ figures (figs. 19, 20) we will note at once that the later one, that of the Benedictional, not only is more authentic in terms of Byzantine figure style, but also seems to be based on a different model. The throne, too, with its double cushion, its peculiar diagonal supports, and its arched footstool is as independent of the earlier miniature as it is dependent on a good Byzantine model. What is true of the throne applies even more to the figure itself. The distinction between the out-turned leg and the other one, which because of its frontal position could be called the "supporting leg," is a typical Byzantine "contrapposto" as we know it from eleventh-century

⁵⁴ Compare Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. xi, upper half, with Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc," fig. 4 (vault in front of the shrine in the upper church), for the peculiar type of scroll. Compare, moreover, the lozenge-shaped figures with fillings, and the fat, rich scrolls in Avery, *op. cit.*, pls. viii.8 and xi (bottom), with frescoes in the Greek crypt (Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, figs. 21 and 23).

⁵⁵ For the dating of the Benedictional, see Cavallo, *op. cit.*, 58 ("intorno alla metà del secolo XI"). Although fully in agreement with this dating, I would hesitate, for a number of reasons, to separate the two Rotuli by a quarter of a century, as Cavallo proposes (see *supra*, note 50).



1. Christ Panel

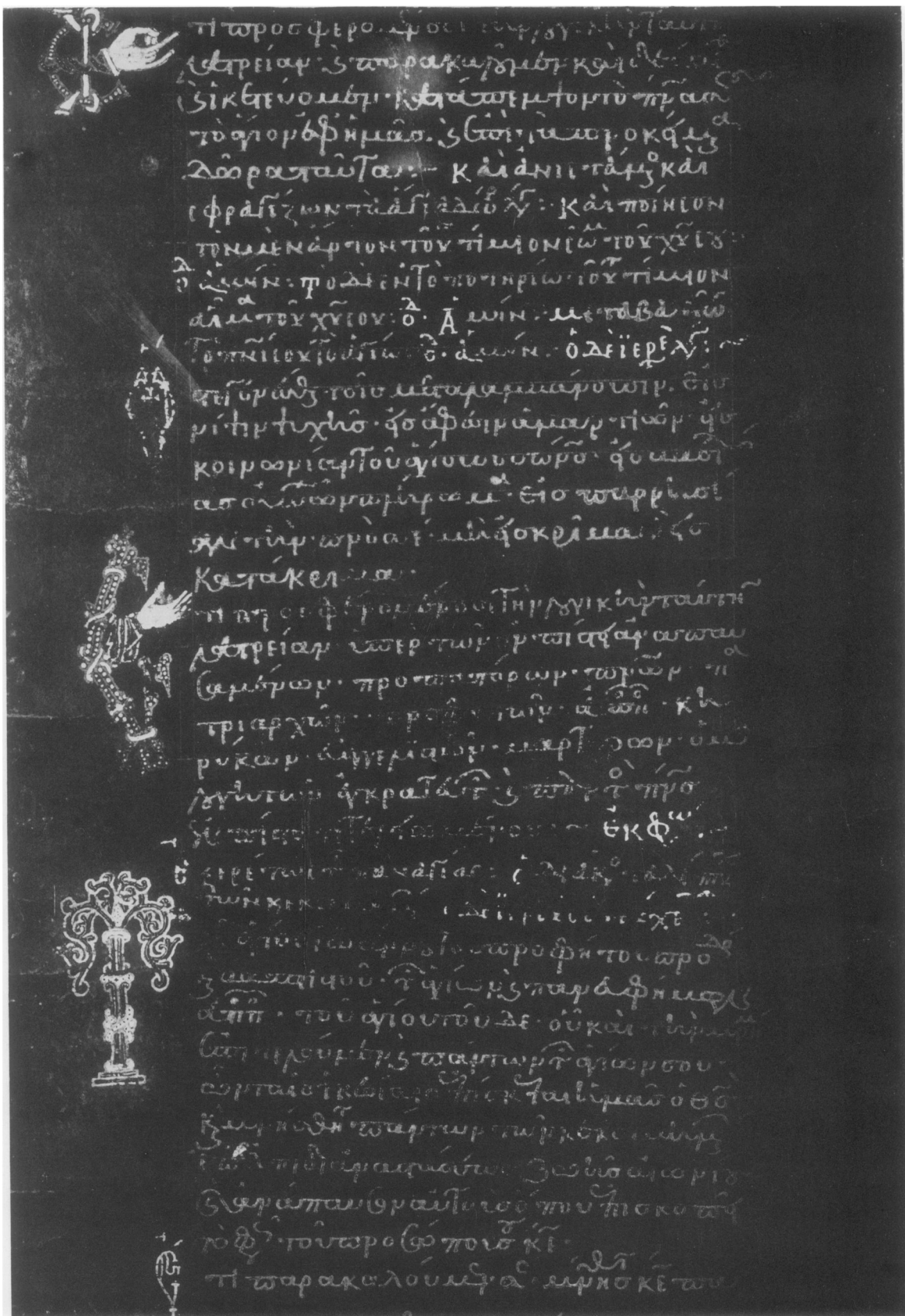
Salerno, Cathedral, Doors



2. Panel with St. Matthew



3. Bari, Cathedral. *Exultet* No. 1



4. Bibl. Vat., Borg. gr. 27, Liturgical Roll



6. Bibl. Vat., gr. 749, fol. 245v, Job and His Relatives and Friends



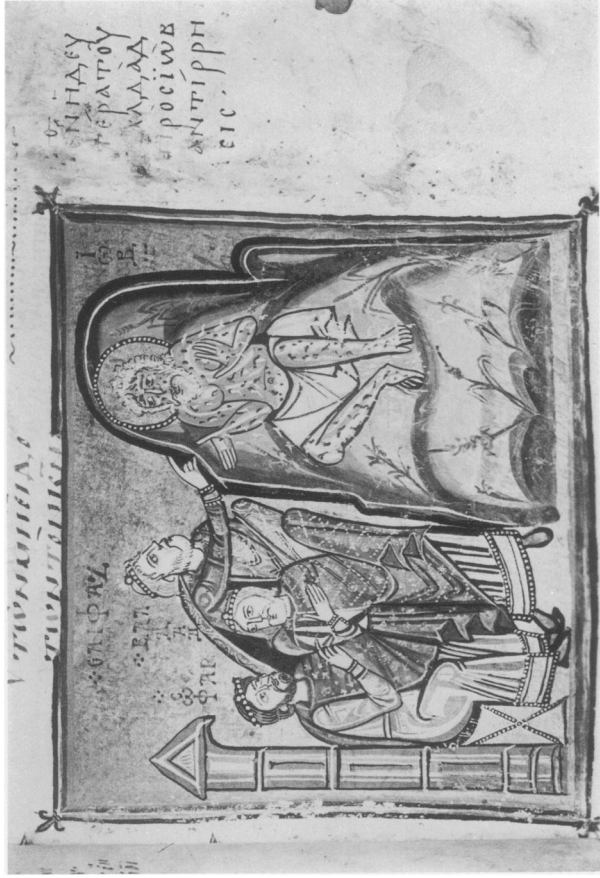
5. Bibl. Vat., gr. 749, fol. 21v, Job in Prayer



7. Bawit (Egypt), Apa Apollon Monastery, Chapel XVII. Fresco



8. Bibl. Vat., gr. 749, fol. 243v, Eliphaz in Prayer



9. Fol. 119

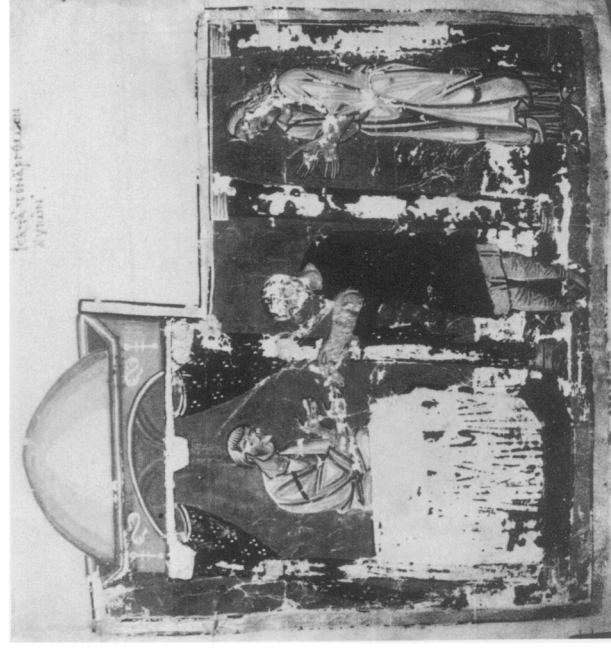
Bibl. Vat., gr. 749, Job and His Friends



10. Fol. 138v



11. Fol. 27, Friends of Job



12. Fol. 7v, The Offering of Job

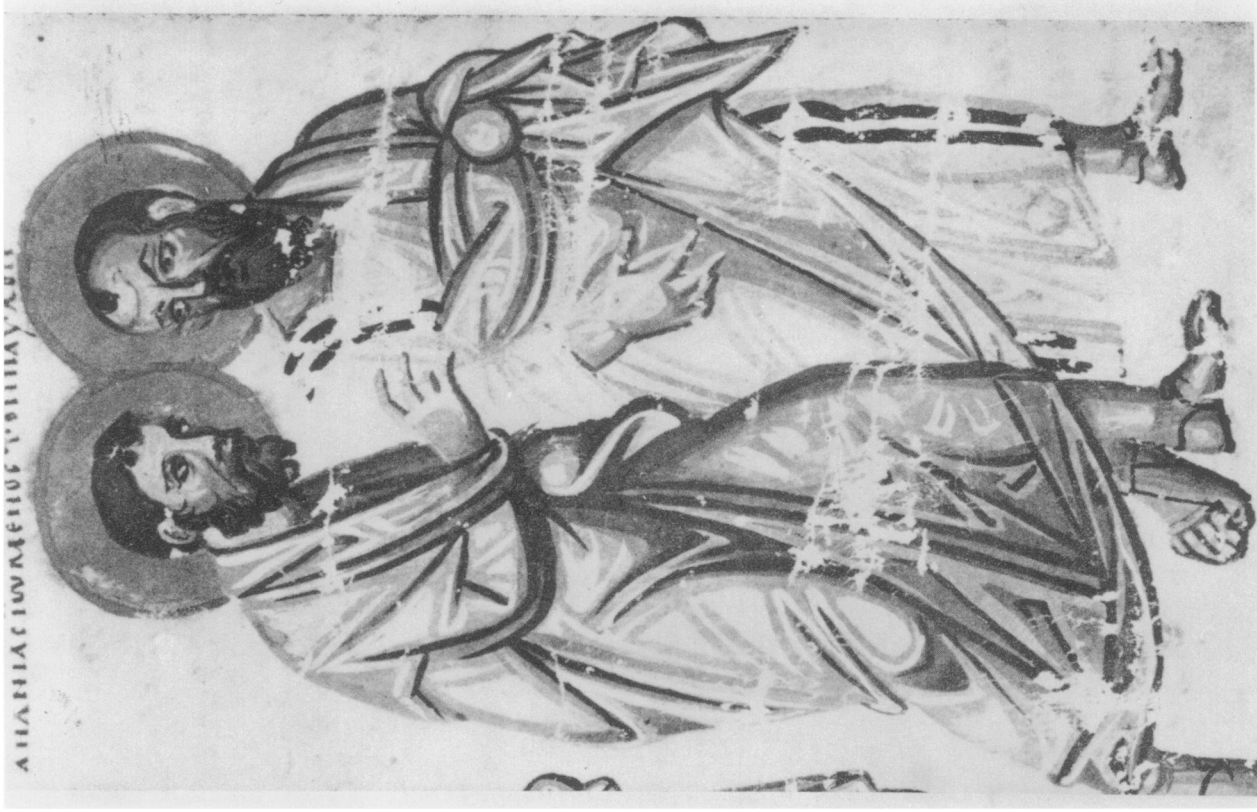
Venice, Bibl. Marc., 538



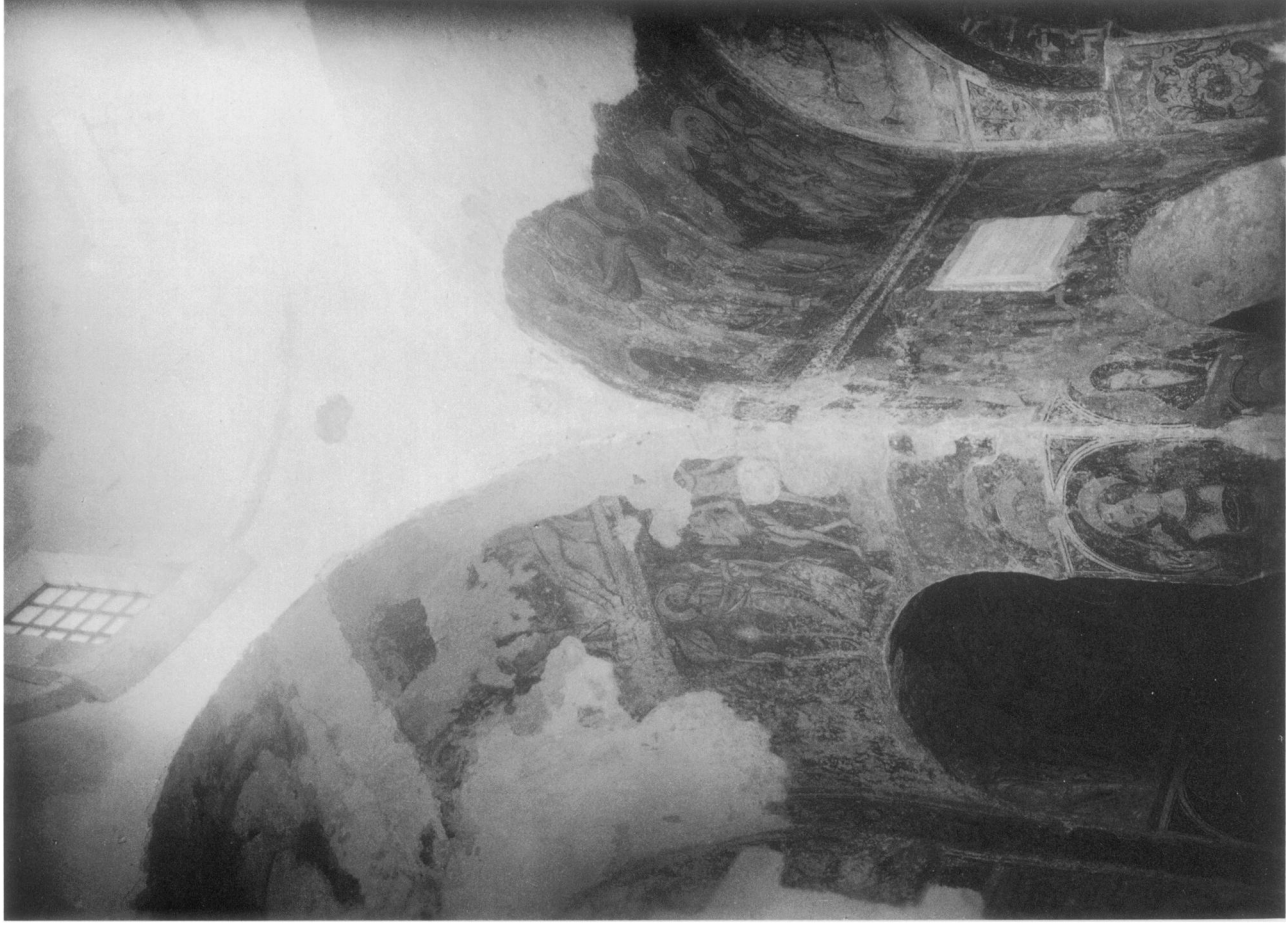
13. Carpignano, SS. Marina e Cristina, Crypt



14. Güllü Dere, Ayvali Kilise, Chapel 4. The Last Judgment



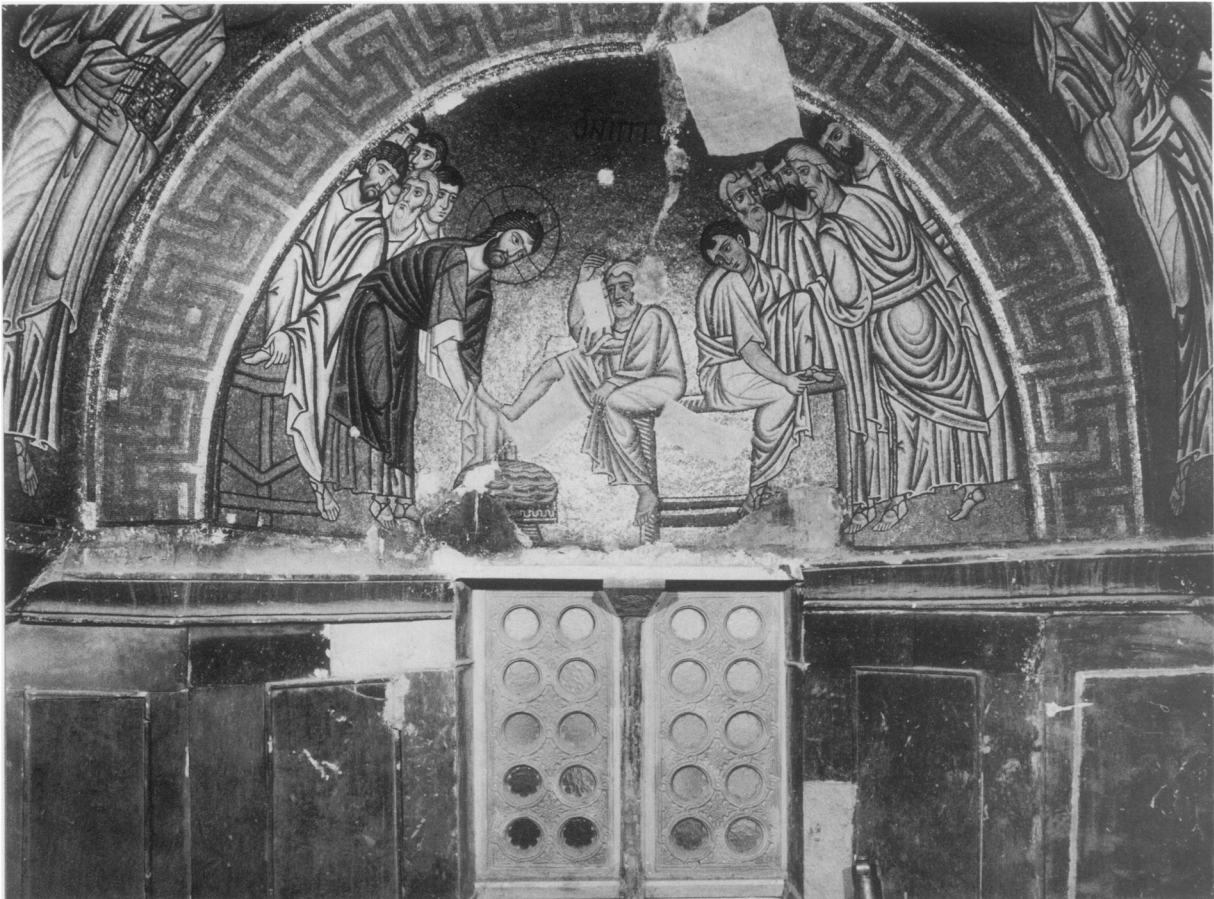
15. Bibl. Vat., gr. 699, Cosmas Indicopleustes, fol. 83v



16. Otranto, San Pietro. Interior View toward Southwest



17. Otranto, San Pietro, Southwest Corner Room, Barrel Vault



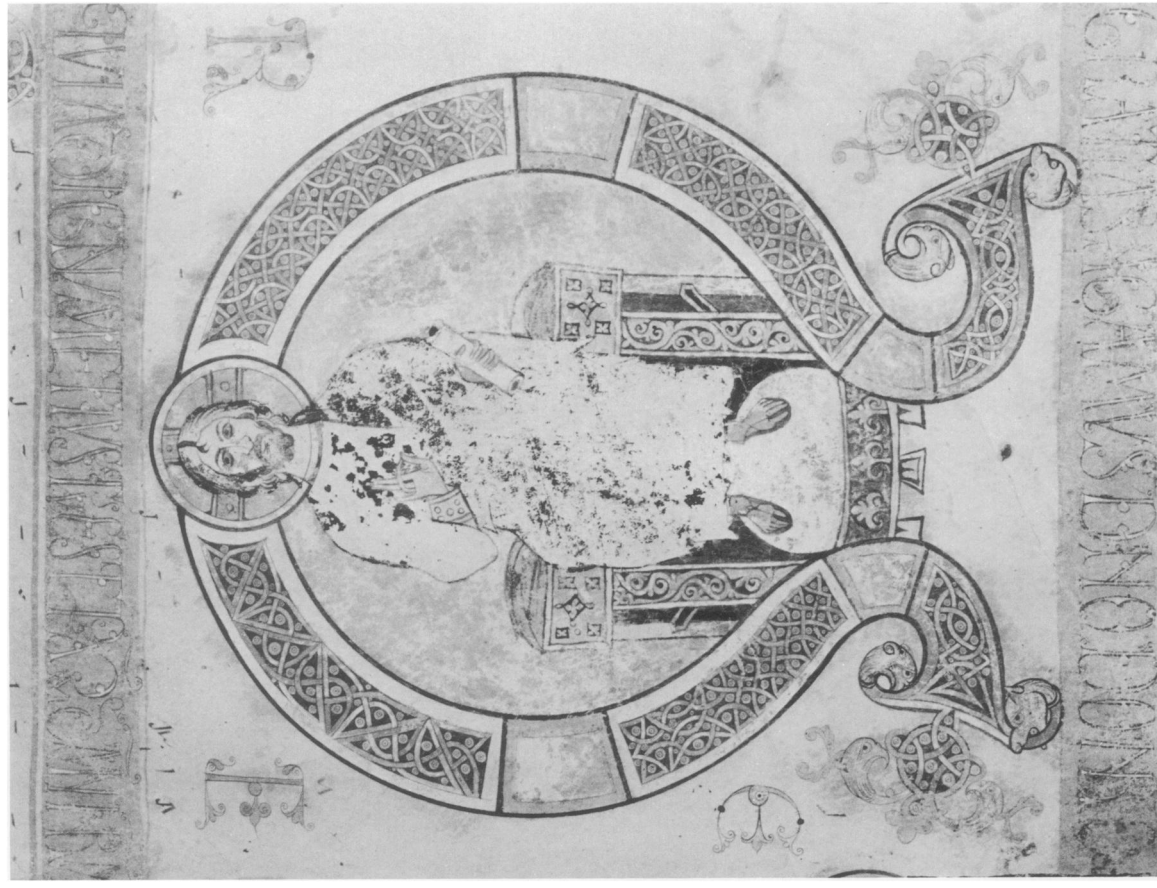
18. Phocis, Hosios Loukas, Narthex

The Washing of the Feet

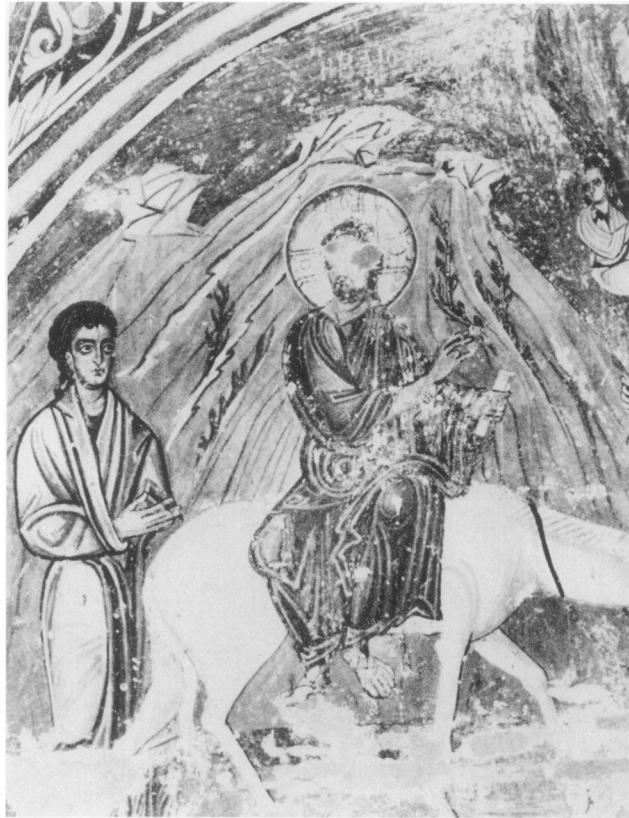


19. Benedictional

Initial V with Christ Enthroned
Bari, Cathedral



20. *Exultet* No. 1



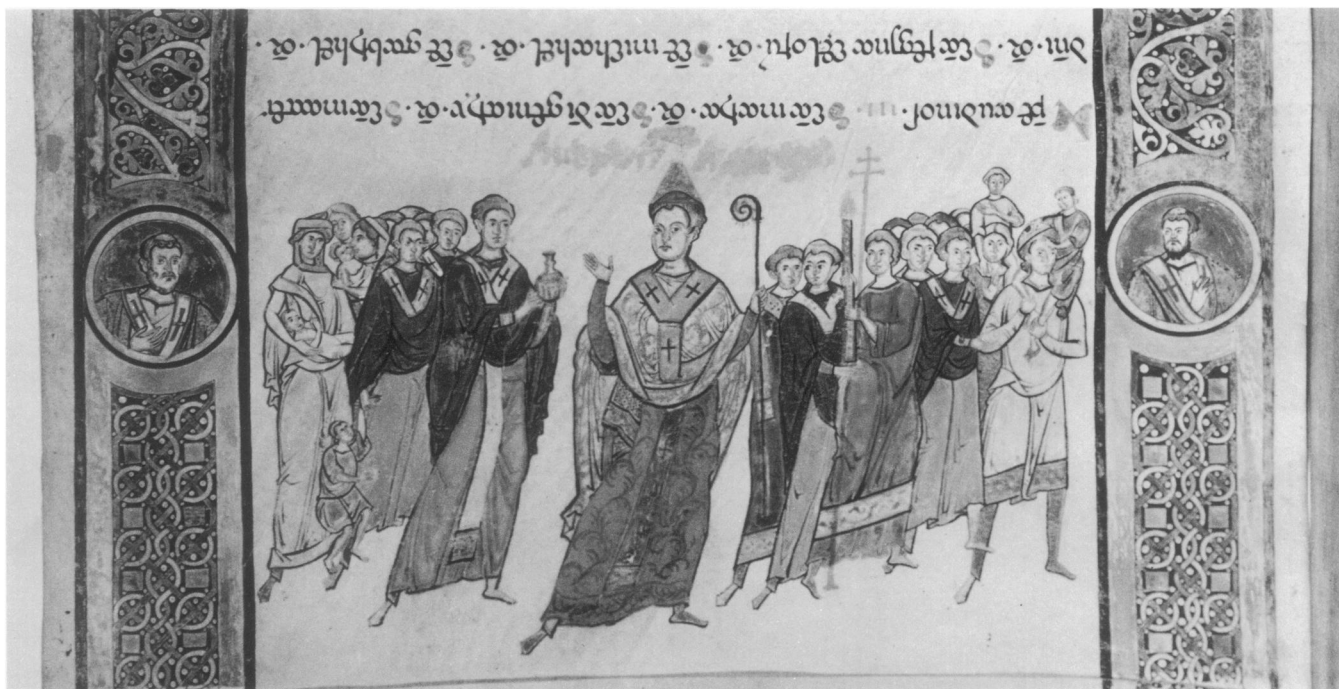
21. Phocis, Hosios Loukas, Crypt.
The Entry into Jerusalem, Detail



22. London, Brit. Mus., Add. 30 337, *Exultet*,
Christ Enthroned



23. Ohrid, St. Sophia. The Ascension, Detail



24. Bari. Benedictional, Procession to the Font



25. Bibl. Vat., gr. 746, Octateuch, fol. 186



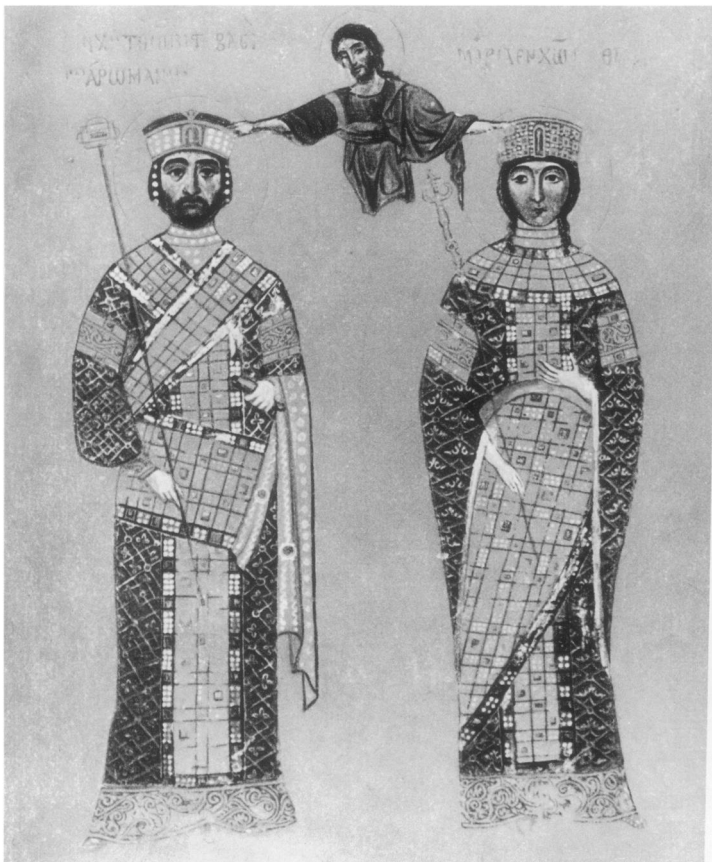
26. Bibl. Vat., gr. 746, Octateuch, fol. 190



27. London, Brit. Mus., Add. 30 337, *Exultet*, The Crossing of the Red Sea



28. Bari, Cathedral. *Exultet* No. 1, The Emperors



29. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 79, fol. 1^v,
Nicephorus Botaneiates and Maria



30. Phocis, Hosios Loukas,
Narthex. St. Irene



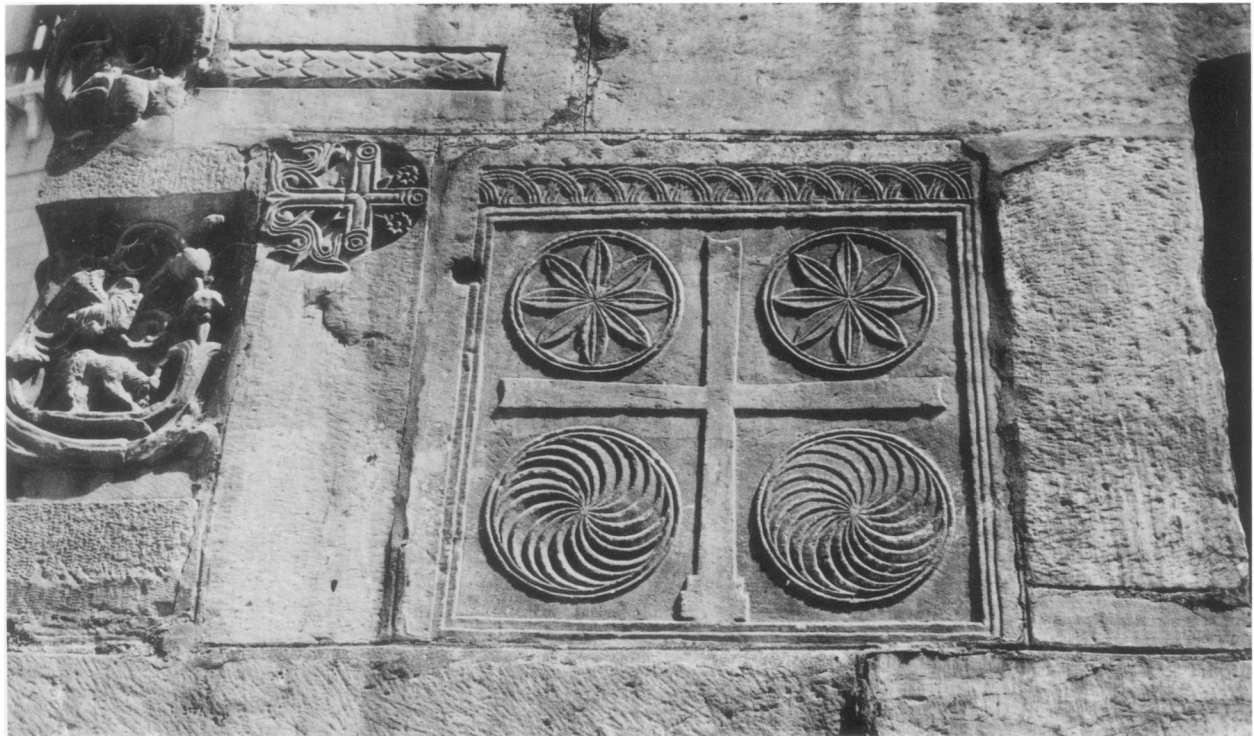
31. Bari, Museum. Sarcophagus, Front



33. Trani, S. Maria di Dionisio. Icon of Delterios



34. Ivory, at one time in the Collection Marquet de Vasselot in Paris



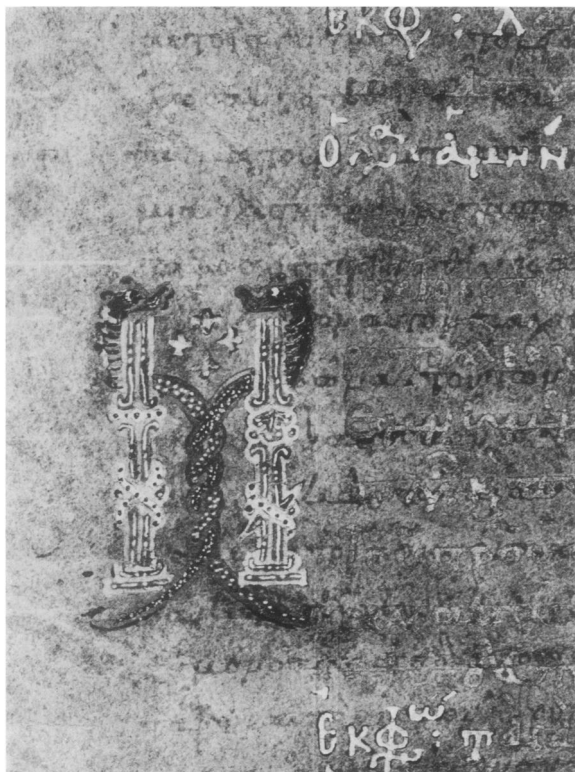
32. Athens, Panagia Gorgoepikoos, Slab



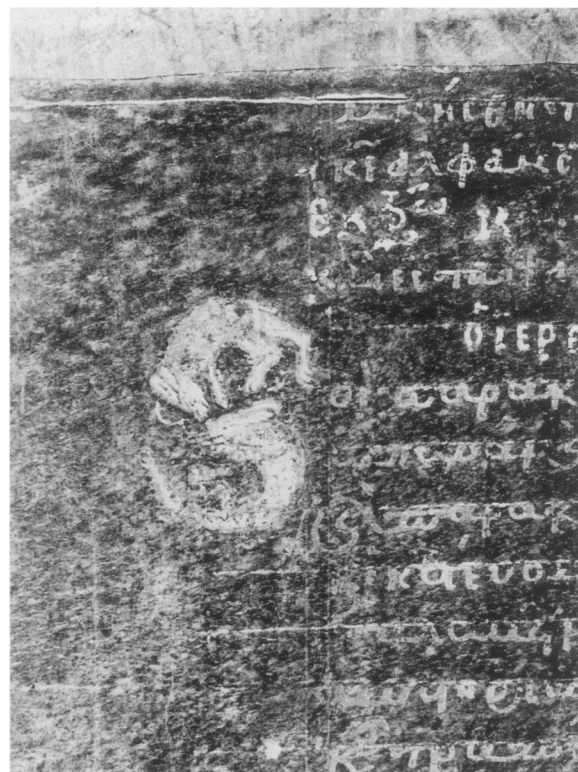
35. Bibl. Vat., gr. 1646 (Maximus Confessor), fol. 1



36. Monte Cassino, cod. 109, p. 224



37. Initial M



38. Initial S

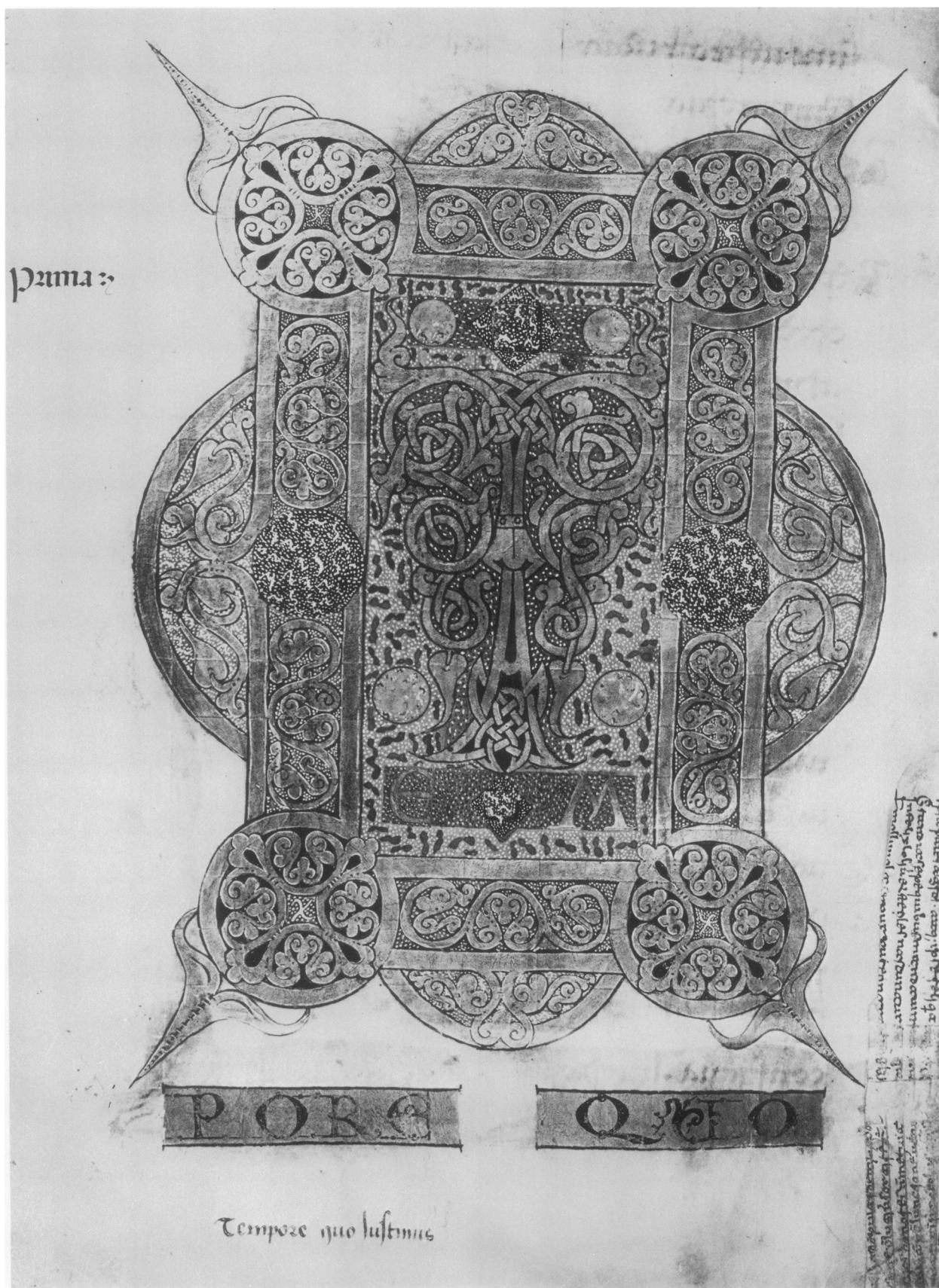
Bibl. Vat., Borg. gr. 27



39. Monte Cassino, cod. 109, p. 311,
Initial S



40. Bibl. Vat., Borg. gr. 27,
Initial P





42. Zadar, Cathedral. Reliquary of St. Oronzo



43. Phocis, Hosios Loukas. Fresco of St. Bacchus

monuments. An equivalent Christ type occurs among the frescoes of Hosios Loukas, in the painting of the Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 21). But a closer comparison with the Benedictional will show that our artist used a model which must have been more complex and richer in individual motifs. Even if we admit that the model was translated into a more angular, flat, and ornamental Latin idiom, the difference between the two figures is far too marked to permit a direct connection between the Benedictional Christ and the style of Hosios Loukas. It may have been a slightly later, possibly Constantinopolitan, model, as represented by the Christ of the Zoe mosaic in St. Sophia, that served for the Benedictional. In any case, we may conclude that our painter, if compared with his fellow artist of the *Exultet*, clearly improved on the "maniera greca" of his figure style. His ability is also evident in the three Deesis figures of the dedicatory image which are comparable to the Enthroned Christ in their successful assimilation of Greek models. These figures have no counterpart in the earlier *Exultet*. They testify to a rapid progress in the "naturalization" of the "maniera greca."

The next step in the adoption on Italian soil of swiftly changing Byzantine styles is represented by yet another Enthroned Christ, in the London *Exultet* Roll (fig. 22). The London Roll was produced at Monte Cassino and painted, to judge from the ornament of the initials, in the early years of Abbot Desiderius, namely, in the sixties of the eleventh century.⁵⁶ Incidentally, I should point out that, with this new example, we have crossed the border into Latin territory, although there is no difference in the approach to the Byzantine models.

The Monte Cassino Christ figure, paradoxically enough, looks even more Byzantine than the Bari ones, since it lacks the ornamental frame of the Latin letter "V" reminiscent of a kind of mandorla in Western style. Otherwise, the Monte Cassino and the Bari Christ figures have in common what appears to be the hallmark of Latin artists as opposed to Greek ones. They have a complete underdrawing, done mostly with a pen which defines every single fold, color being an additional feature rather than an essential one. Where the paint has flaked off, as is the case in the Monte Cassino Christ, nothing of any real importance seems to be missing. It is easy to distinguish between a Latin and a Greek hand, for the latter starts with only very little underdrawing, and furnishes the details of the figure by means of several layers of paint and with a brush instead of a pen.

Thus, we may regard the London Roll as a further example of "arte bizantineggiante" which was not even dependent on the Bari ones. As a matter of fact, the Monte Cassino Christ is copied from another Byzantine model, which is best represented by the Christ from the Ascension in the church of

⁵⁶ Avery, *op. cit.*, 19f., and pls. XLIII-LI. The London Rotulus still adheres to the pre-Desiderian letter types (Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII.2) and thus is related to the *Exultet* at Avezzano and the one in the Vatican, lat. 3784 (Avery, *op. cit.*, pls. II.1 and CXXX.1), the latter probably being the latest of the three Rotuli. There is as yet no trace of the "new style" with its Ratisbon influence, as it is exemplified by both Vat. lat. 1202 and Casin. 99 (cf. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, pls. 68, 71, and Bloch, "Monte Cassino" [as in note 2 *supra*], 201ff.).

St. Sophia at Ohrid (fig. 23), a fresco dated around the middle of the eleventh century and hardly more than ten years older than its Latin copy.⁵⁷ Two important conclusions may be drawn from these observations. First, unlike the Greek painters at Carpignano, their Latin colleagues did not lag behind developments in the main centers, but seem to have been familiar with the latest fashions in Byzantium. Second, it follows that we should not overestimate the existence of the Greek province with regard to the art of Monte Cassino. Indeed, there is no evidence for "the vast storehouse of Byzantinism that had for so long existed in southeast Italy," which Garrison claims to be the source of the Greek models available at Monte Cassino.⁵⁸ We do not need to read Leo of Ostia on the hiring of Constantinopolitan artists for Monte Cassino, to be convinced that that "new Byzantine intervention," which Garrison denies, did in fact take place.⁵⁹ Thus, neither the Bari, nor the Monte Cassino miniatures, can be used to reconstruct the kind of Greek painting executed in Byzantine Italy.

What, then, historically speaking, is the importance of the "prodroming Byzantinising style," to quote Garrison again, at Bari for the art of the Desiderian era at Monte Cassino?⁶⁰ The Apulian Rolls, being earlier in date than their Cassinese parallels, may have set an example for a rather peculiar use of Byzantine art. Such a use seems to occur nowhere else before the appearance of the Bari Rolls. First, Byzantine art is accepted without reservation as *the* basic idiom for figural illustration. Second, as it happens later in Romanesque England, it serves to express, even to bring about, pictorial narrative.⁶¹ Our best witness is the famous *Life* of St. Benedict (Vat. lat. 1202, from Monte Cassino) which is made up of elements of Byzantine art, although in content and spirit it is Latin.⁶² It is this same type of pictorial narrative that had already been used in the Bari Rolls.

⁵⁷ R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Giessen, 1963), pl. 14; Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, 158ff. For the date of the church, which was built by Archbishop Leon (1037–56), and its frescoes, cf. V. N. Lazarev, *Živopis XI–XII vekov v Makedonii*, XII^e Congrès Internat. des Etudes Byzantines, Ochride, 1961, Rapports, V (Ohrid, 1961), 114f.

⁵⁸ Garrison, *Studies* (as in note 35 *supra*), II (Florence, 1955–56), 35.

⁵⁹ See *supra*, note 2.

⁶⁰ See *supra*, note 58.

⁶¹ O. Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 1957), 16f., takes into consideration a possible link between the Monte Cassino *Life* of St. Benedict (see *infra*, note 62) and the illustrated *Life* of St. Cuthbert from Durham, but then discards this possibility by assuming "a common prototype" of venerable age. I am not inclined to consider the Cassinese miniatures as reproductions of an early model of the same type. I rather see their genesis as similar to that of the Bari Rotuli, of which I will speak immediately below. However this may be, the chronological sequence of the Bari and Cassino miniatures is as clear as their priority, in terms of date, over the English specimens.

⁶² See also note 61. Cf. D. M. Inganez and M. Avery, *Miniature cassinesi del secolo XI illustranti la vita di San Benedetto* (Monte Cassino, 1934); Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, pls. LXX–LXXI; M.-H. Laurent, "Un antico lezionario cassinese: il codice Vat. lat. 1202," *Benedictina*, 4 (1950), 327–41; M.-H. Laurent ed., *Codices Vaticani latini. Codd. 1135–1266* (Vatican City, 1958), 132–36; J. Wettstein, *Sant'Angelo in Formis et la peinture médiévale en Campanie* (Geneva, 1960), 117ff. and 122ff.; H. Belting, "Der Cod. 73 in M. Cassino und die cassinesische Kunst vor Desiderius," *ZKunstg*, 25 (1962), 193ff., esp. 206ff.

A good example is scene 2 in the Bari Benedictional, illustrating the liturgy embodied in the text (fig. 24).⁶³ The bishop, accompanied by a deacon holding the phial containing the Chrism and surrounded by the people, solemnly proceeds to the font, which he is to consecrate. The Paschal candle, which has already been blessed, is carried in front of him. Several children, who are to be baptized at the end of the ceremony, are held by adults in their arms and on their shoulders, or led by the hand. A number of inconsistencies immediately strike us. The bishop is dressed in Greek liturgical garments: he wears the *omophorion* and the single broad stole, and also the *epimanikion*.⁶⁴ The figure is evidently copied from a Greek model, with no attempt at adapting it to the Latin costume. Furthermore, this Byzantine bishop type is repeated on the left, and the *omophorion* is even distributed at random among several of the people in the congregation, one of whom, to our surprise, is leading a child by the hand; thus a layman is clad in a bishop's robe. The source for the bishop's type, therefore, must have been different from that used for the composition as a whole.

This second source, as the grouping of the figures reveals, must have been a biblical scene from a Greek eleventh-century manuscript. An approximate idea of what the manuscript must have looked like, is provided by a scene in the Vatican Octateuch, codex gr. 746 (fig. 25), representing the Exodus of the Jews, with Moses prominent in the center foreground, flanked on either side by a multitude of people hurrying with children and luggage.⁶⁵ Note the posture of Moses striding forward with a peculiarly long step while looking back—as in our Roll—toward the spectator. Several figural motifs, including the children, occur here as well as in another miniature in the same manuscript (fig. 26); I wish to draw attention especially to the two last figures on the left. It may be more than a mere coincidence that the column of fire guiding the Jewish people, illustrated in the Vatican manuscript, is mentioned in a prayer which is read in the Bari Benedictional just before the procession to the font starts off.

The proof that Greek biblical manuscripts were copied by Latin artists in Italy is furnished by the London *Exultet* from Monte Cassino discussed previously.⁶⁶ Here, the Crossing of the Red Sea is copied directly from a Greek source, although it is expanded and again deprived of frame and colored background (fig. 27). The Greek models provided, as it were, the vocabulary which the Latin artist used in composing his narrative, a vocabulary which could be dismembered and regrouped according to any possible demand. We realize, in addition, that it was the Bari Rolls which set an example for generations to come. They illustrate, in their figural parts, one facet of

⁶³ Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. xiii.2.

⁶⁴ J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg i.Br., 1907), 665ff. (*Omo-phorion*) and 98ff. (*Epimanikion*).

⁶⁵ Cod. Vat. gr. 746, fols. 186 and 190. Cf. R. Devreesse ed. *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), 261ff. For full bibliography, see Canart and Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici* (as in note 28 *supra*), 478f. For the full importance of the Octateuchs in Christian iconography, see K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), *passim*.

⁶⁶ Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. xlviii.9. See also *supra*, note 56.

an artistic exchange that took place between Bari and Monte Cassino in which Bari took the lead, while, in the ornament of their initials, they submitted to influence from Monte Cassino. Seen within this framework, the historical role of the Latin Rolls from the Greek province becomes more understandable. Finally, the variety of Greek models available to the painters of the Apulian Rolls—among them, illuminated manuscripts—is obvious. It is only from the Latin copies that we can surmise their existence at Bari. A document of the year 1032, issued by Archbishop Bizantius at Bari, informs us to what extent a Greek monastery in that area was furnished with liturgical manuscripts of the Greek rite.⁶⁷ From it we learn that the monastery of S. Maria Nea, founded by the Catapan Pothos Argyros (1029–32), was given a Gospel Book, an Apostolos, a Menaion, a Psalter, and many other manuscripts, among which there was also an Octateuch. A similar Octateuch could well have been the model for our Benedictional miniatures. It is, however, unlikely that there was at Bari a Greek atelier capable of producing an illuminated manuscript of the type and artistic quality testified by the Latin copies. We have, instead, every reason to assume that such a manuscript was an import from the Greek mainland. Thus, there seems to be no difference, in principle, between the Bari Benedictional and the London *Exultet*, for, as we well know, Byzantine models could be imported anywhere. Yet, we should make one distinction which will clarify the difference in attitude toward the Greek models from the patron's point of view. At Bari, the Latin copyists and their patron had no need to import the actual Greek models, since Greek patronage was responsible for this import. One could easily borrow such a model in the area. At Monte Cassino, the case was different. Here we must assume a deliberate wish to acquire such a model, and this attitude on the part of the patron is one of the new features of the Desiderian era. I may recall here the well-known passage in the Cassinese *Chronicle* referring to the golden antependium with "almost all the miracles of St. Benedict" which Desiderius had ordered by sending "one of the brethren to the imperial city with a letter to the Emperor and 36 pounds of gold." One should also remember the other passage, which records the training of local artists, at Monte Cassino, by Greek "experts" from Constantinople whose "degree of perfection [in various arts] . . . can be seen in their works."⁶⁸

Having made all these observations, we may ask ourselves whether there is in the Bari Rolls any indication of their having originated on Greek territory, any element linking them with the Byzantine domination and setting them

⁶⁷ F. Nitti de Vito ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, I (Bari, 1893), p. 31f., no. 18. Archbishop Bizantius introduces two monks from the monastery of Turri into the new monastery of the Virgin and the two Saints John. The monks are supposed to pray for the Emperors, the Catapan, and the imperial clergy. Cf. also von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen* (as in note 1 *supra*), 183, and S. Borsari, *Il monachismo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanna* (Naples, 1963), 63f. According to our document, the monastery received liturgical vessels, garments, *et codice evangelium et codice apostolo et alium codicem mineo et psalterium et isti chiro cathismatari et condacaro et codice viblio [biblio] et anastasium et octayco et efologio [euchologio]*.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Cas.*, III, 32, 27 (MGH, SS, VII, 722, 718). Cf. O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland. Lothringen und Italien*, I (Berlin, 1938), 681, no. 2857. Cf. the translation by Holt, *A Documentary History of Art* (as in note 11 *supra*), 15.

apart from other specimens of "arte bizantineggiante" produced outside the Greek provinces proper. There is, indeed, in the Bari *Exultet*, one feature which is exclusive: the liturgical commemoration of a Byzantine emperor, emphasized by a double portrait of Greek type (fig. 28). Nothing in the text connects the commemoration with Greek rule, for the text passage, *Memorare, domine, famulorum tuorum imperatorum nostrorum ill(ius) et ill(ius)*, is nothing but a standard formula stemming from the Latin text tradition. Instead, it is left to the portrait types of Byzantine rulers to bear witness to the fact that it was the *Byzantine* emperors who were to be commemorated by the Latin clergy of Bari.

The obvious implication is to attribute to the double portrait an official function, that of acknowledging Byzantine political authority, and this may well have been the intention of those responsible for the commission. There is, however, a surprising lack of official iconography we should expect in an official commission, and it may be worthwhile to probe this point in more detail. In the first place, scholars have not yet agreed as to whether the two figures actually represent two co-rulers contemporary with our Roll, or whether they are simply a formula. The controversy has even a bearing on the dating of our *Exultet*, since, with the death of Basil II in 1025, the last co-rule in Byzantium to which the Roll could have referred came to an end.⁶⁹ It can be shown, however, that our painter did not have co-rule in mind, but merely translated the text, which mentions emperors in the plural, into a picture. It was a Latin tradition to refer to the ruling emperor in general and to invest an imperial portrait with neither an official, nor a specific, meaning, as we well know from other *Exultet* rotuli. On the other hand, at Byzantium an imperial icon—if I may use this term—required that the name of the emperor represented be inscribed, and the image be a portrait of an individual.⁷⁰ A good example is offered by codex Vat. Urb. gr. 2. Still, one could object that our painter copied an actual double portrait of Basil II and Constantine VIII but omitted the names. But, again, this must be ruled out even as a possibility. The two portraits are corrupt in that the figures hold their insignia in their left hand. The official use at Byzantium, as is also reflected in the double portrait of Nicephorus Botaneiates and Maria in codex Coislin 79 (fig. 29), was to place the scepter in the right hand of the ruler.⁷¹ To say

⁶⁹ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 219. For this controversy, cf. G. B. Ladner, "The 'Portraits' of Emperors in Southern Italian *Exultet* Rolls," *Speculum*, 17,2 (1942), 181 ff. and esp. 185 ff., and also Cavallo, *Rotoli di Exultet dell'Italia meridionale*, 50 ff.

⁷⁰ Cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 2, fol. 19v. See S. P. Lampros, Λεύκωμα βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1930), pl. 68. Cf., for the iconography of Byzantine emperors, A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936).

⁷¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 79, fol. 1v: Lampros, *op. cit.*, pl. 63. There are modifications, which, however, are not to be regarded as exceptions. They distinguish between the emperor and his wife by showing the emperor with the more important "Herrschaftszeichen" in his right hand whereas the empress holds the same object, or one of lower rank, in her left hand. See the silver reliquary in the Patriarchate of Moscow with Constantine Dukas and Eudokia (A. Grabar, "Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios et le martyrium du saint à Salonique," *DOP*, 5 [1950], 3 ff., esp. 18 ff. and fig. 19), and the Sinaiticus 364, fol. 3, showing Constantine IX, Zoe, and Theodora (K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated MSS at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai* [St. John's Univ. Press: Collegeville, Minn., 1973], fig. 19).

nothing of the meaningless juxtaposition of two different types of insignia, at Bari, inappropriate for two rulers of equal rank, it is even more absurd for the two rulers to hold in their right hand a little cross, which is definitely not a "Herrschaftszeichen." Furthermore, one should note the ornate collar, which is appropriate for an empress rather than an emperor. Keeping these observations in mind, we can now reconstruct the two types of models our painter combined. The first must have been the single figure of an emperor holding a scepter in his right hand. The second, I am inclined to think, was not the portrait of an emperor at all, but the icon of a female saint, or, to put it the other way round, the icon of an empress transferred to the pantheon of Byzantine saints, in which case the iconography was shifted from imperial to hagiographical. St. Irene, as represented in a mosaic in Hosios Loukas, can serve as an example, chosen at random (fig. 30). She holds a *sphaira* and, to identify her as a saint, the small cross of the confessors and martyrs as they are usually depicted on Byzantine church walls.⁷² I need not amplify this argument. If the iconography intended for official use could be corrupted to such an extent without ever being corrected, and if this could happen in the immediate vicinity of the palace of the Byzantine governor, then anything was possible. Thus, our double portrait is a revealing document, which speaks against a deeply rooted Hellenization of the territory as well as against a tight control of the Byzantine officials over their subjects.

I should like to mention in passing that, according to the mnemonic entries, the Bari clergy in the early seventies of the eleventh century commemorated the Byzantine emperors jointly with their Norman enemies. Shortly afterward, when it had become clear that the Byzantine emperors should no longer be mentioned, the deacon prayed for the Norman rulers alone, while still using the same Roll which depicted the Byzantine figures.⁷³

At this point I shall leave the Bari Rolls. They reflect a variety of easily accessible Byzantine models, none of which can be connected with certainty with local Greek production. While the affinity with the frescoes of Hosios Loukas, limited as it is, may be explained, hypothetically, by the activity of painters coming to Apulia from that part of Greece, there is no way of tracing the provenance of the *manuscript* models of our rolls. The most likely provenance of these models, judging by the artistic quality of the Bari figures, would be the capital. Thus, it is left to the frescoes at Carpignano and Otranto to represent local production in the tenth century. For the eleventh century we have, with one exception, no evidence for local Greek painting of any importance. This may be explained partly by the loss of relevant monuments. Still, surprisingly little has been left from the Byzantine period, and what is left does not arouse much curiosity about what may be missing. Of course, there are a few imported objects, the likes of which can be found also elsewhere. I should like to mention the reliquary cross at Monopoli and the ivory casket

⁷² Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, no. 142 (fresco) on diagram p. 119.

⁷³ Cavallo, *Rotuli di Exultet dell'Italia meridionale*, 48ff.

of the rosette type at Giovinazzo.⁷⁴ A sarcophagus front, now in the Bari Museum (fig. 31), which was reused in 1075 for the tomb of a certain Basil, at one time a Greek official,⁷⁵ may also fit into this category, since it was carved in a clearly Greek style familiar to us from slabs walled into the exterior of the so-called Little Metropolis church at Athens (fig. 32).⁷⁶ But these objects are not very helpful to our purpose. When, however, we come across a piece of undoubtedly local origin, like the small stone icon in S. Maria di Dionisio at Trani (fig. 33), it is hard to detect in it the use of a Greek model.⁷⁷ The icon is inscribed with the name of a certain Delterios, who held the rank of a local *tourmarches* and has been identified with the official who, in 1039, signed a document in Latin as Dilecterio, and in Greek as Eleutherios. It may be significant that the inscription on the icon, though Greek in alphabet and language, gives us a variant of the Latin version of the name. I am not certain whether this indicates that the artist was Latin. The figures of the Virgin and Child reproduce a Greek *type*, but not a Greek *style*, and even the type seems to have been corrupted by representing the Child on the right arm of His mother, a peculiar feature when compared with the usual type, such as is found on an ivory plaque once in Paris (fig. 34).⁷⁸ The ivory belongs to a large group of provincial versions of metropolitan

⁷⁴ For the ivory casket, see *Mostra dell'arte in Puglia dal tardo antico al rococò* (Rome, 1964), no. 5 and fig. 5. It is not included in the corpus by A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XII. Jahrhunderts*, I (Berlin, 1930). For the reliquary triptych, cf. *ibid.*, no. 4, and W. F. Volbach, *La stauroteca di Monopoli* (Rome, 1969). There is a Byzantine reliquary cross, with the name of a certain Basil, from S. Giovanni Apiro (Basilicata), at Gaeta: A. Lipinsky, *BGrottaf*, N.S., 2 (1957), 91ff.

⁷⁵ The funeral inscription, with name and date, runs along the lower margin of the slab, which is in the Museum at Bari. The slab is not included in O. Feld's study on Middle Byzantine sarcophagi ("Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage," *RQ*, 65 [1970], 158-84). For comparisons with the pattern of crosses under arcades in the Bari slab, see the sarcophagus of Saray and a fragment at Antalya (Feld, *op. cit.*, pls. 5b and 7a). The spiral rosettes and the type of relief are best represented by slabs of the so-called Little Metropolis or Panagia Gorgoepeikoos at Athens. For this church, cf. K. Kuruniotis and G. A. Soteriou, *Εὐρετήριο των μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, vol. A.1 (Athens, 1929), 70f. In this context, I should like to mention another marble slab of Byzantine provenance in Apulia. This is the well-known relief at Barletta, with Christ and the Apostles. It is, undoubtedly, a late antique piece and should be regarded a masterpiece of the Theodosian period. The figures, however, are accompanied by mediaeval Greek inscriptions (the *hagios* being represented by the letter alpha inscribed within an omicron). One could speculate as to whether the slab had been brought to Apulia already in Byzantine times. For bibliography, cf. H. Brandenburg, "Ein frühchristliches Relief in Berlin," *RM*, 79 (1972), 123ff. and esp. 134f., pls. 79.2, 80.

⁷⁶ See *supra*, note 75.

⁷⁷ N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II (Petrograd, 1915), 281 and fig. 152; G. Beltrami, "Due reliquie del bizantinismo in Puglia, II," *ASINap*, 7 (1882), 617-20; R. Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefikone* (Recklinghausen, 1964), 56, no. 10; and Guillou, "Art et religion" (*supra*, note 3), 737. The slab measures 36 × 32 cm. The inscription reads: Κ(ύρι)ε βώϊ9η τὸν δοῦλο(ν) Cou Δελτέρηον τορμάρχη(ν). For the document of 1039, see Beltrami, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II (Berlin, 1934), no. 80. The ivory was then in the collection of Marquet de Vasselot in Paris. While this piece may represent the style of the model, another ivory at Utrecht (*ibid.*, no. 46) offers a better comparison for the motifs of the hanging mantle of the Virgin. The "wrong" position of the Child occurs in the Goldschmidt and Weitzmann corpus only once, and this is again a piece of crude quality: *ibid.*, no. 29 (once in Berlin, Deutsches Museum). A. Grabar derives this type of the Virgin from a Palestinian archetype (cf. *CahTech*, 3 [1954], 8). For local copies of Byzantine ivories, found in excavations in Russia, see A. Bank, "Les modèles de Constantinople et les copies locales," *Actes du XXII^e Congrès Internat. d'Histoire de l'Art* (Budapest, 1969), 177ff. On the Trani icon, the moldings on the frame resemble enamel work within metal frames.

models, and it may well be that some of them were produced in the Greek West. Incidentally, the unusual position of the Child occurs again, not only at Hosios Loukas, but also in a wall painting at Monopoli which, to judge by its Latin inscription and style, is one of the rare surviving specimens of Apulian art of the eleventh century copied from Byzantine models.⁷⁹

To sum up, the artistic physiognomy of Byzantine Italy, in terms of the figural arts, is not very impressive, as far as we can judge from direct and indirect sources. We would expect some record of Greek patronage, at least in the literary sources. But they, too, are rather disappointing from this point of view. The donation to the monastery of S. Maria Nea, which I have mentioned above, is a rare exception, and the information it gives us concerns *manuscripts*, not *art*. The same monastery enjoyed Greek patronage of the most official kind, since it was founded by the Greek governor or catapan. However, such patronage may have been the exception rather than the rule. The Catapan Christophoros in 1028 built his family church, the well-known Panagia ton Chalkeon, not in Bari, but in Salonica, while he was holding his position in Italy.⁸⁰ He must have had a reason for not choosing Bari. When we look through the list of Greek governors of Italy, which Vera von Falkenhausen has collected, we find thirty names covering a period of less than two hundred years.⁸¹ This indicates that Byzantine officials followed each other in quick succession in this outpost, which may well account for their lack of interest in the patronage of the arts, that is, in an investment of money, in the Greek West, where they could hardly expect to be remembered for long.

There was yet another obstacle to Greek patronage on a large scale. Greek monasticism, which is to be regarded as the main representative of Greek culture in Italy, was of a rather unusual type—very ascetic, very holy, and not stationary in terms of monastic settlement, but belonging rather to the migrating type.⁸² An anecdote from the *Life* of St. Nilus of Rossano serves well to illustrate this point.⁸³ The monk, by then already famous, was ap-

⁷⁹ I saw a color slide of this fresco at Dumbarton Oaks, but do not know of any publication of it.

⁸⁰ For this Catapan, cf. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 49f. and 87f. For his church at Salonica, cf. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκίων in Thessaloniki*, Byzantina Vindobonensia, 2 (Vienna, 1966), 12, and note 3 (for the inscription in the church mentioning his rank as *Katepano Lagoubardias*).

⁸¹ Von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 161–91. One of the rare pieces of information about Byzantine building activity in Italy is provided by the Bari stone inscription of the year 1011 (*ibid.*, 175, no. 37). It mentions that the Catapan Basil Mesardonites “has erected the *ἄστυ* [castellum],” and also a “propylon” in the palace and finally the church of St. Demetrios: cf. A. Guillou, “Un document sur le gouvernement de la Province. L’inscription historique en vers de Bari (1011),” in *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (as in note 1 *supra*), X, 1ff.

⁸² See *supra*, note 7. Cf. also G. Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile et d’Italie méridionale au VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles,” *Byzantion*, 29–30 (1959–60), 89–173. See also Gay, *L’Italie méridionale et l’empire byzantin* (as in note 1 *supra*), 273, for the “moines...migrateurs” of Calabria.

⁸³ *Vita S. Nili junioris*, 72, PG, 120, col. 124A. The monastery was founded by Nilus in 955. Nilus left it in 980. Basil was *strategos* of Calabria in ca. 970 (cf. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 99, no. 76). For Nilus, cf. Gay, *op. cit.*, 273ff. For the history of S. Adriano at S. Demetrio Corone, cf. Orsi, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria* (as in note 4 *supra*), 155ff.; Willemsen and Odenthal, *Kalabrien*, 13ff. and pls. 23–32, and Venditti, *Architettura bizantina*, II, 940ff. and figs. 559–62.

proached by Basil, the *strategos* of Calabria, who was eager to contribute to the embellishment of the poor chapel at S. Adriano. "Let me clothe," he said, "your chapel with precious wall hangings." The answer was: "I prefer you to go to the Katholike of the Kastron, where they guard them that they may not be stolen." The general was not discouraged. He went on offering to build a chapel bigger and better than the existing one, for, as he said, "I cannot bear seeing it to be of clay." Again he was rebuffed, for Nilus answered: "Then you cannot bear seeing me, since I, too, am of clay. Do not bother about my chapel at all, because the impious Saracens will destroy it anyhow."

The same Nilus, however, urged his monks to learn to write and to copy sacred texts. He even sent them to Rome to acquire books for use in the monastic communities of Calabria, and these books became the most precious, and sometimes even the only property of the poor monks.⁸⁴ I need not point out that those books, as a rule, were not illuminated manuscripts. We have, in fact, to distinguish calligraphy from artistic production proper. As Gay put it in his famous history of Byzantine South Italy, "La calligraphie et le chant, tels sont les éléments essentiels de la culture monastique."⁸⁵

Nevertheless, it is these manuscripts which are our main witness for Byzantine Italy. They are, as a rule, of rather poor quality in their figures and ornament, since these, too, were the work of the monk-scribe.⁸⁶ Figural illustrations being the exception rather than the rule, the ornament becomes the prominent feature of Greek manuscripts produced in Italy. The ornament follows either early models of an oriental type, as shown by the codex Patmiacus 33, written in 941 in Calabria,⁸⁷ or local Beneventan models, as exemplified by codex B 56 Sup., now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. The latter may conveniently be compared, for its motifs and the large-sized initials, of Latin type, with codex 132 at Monte Cassino, of the early eleventh century.⁸⁸ It is this last category of borrowings from Latin ornament which, according to Professor Grabar, represents "la physionomie régionale," as against Byzantine provincial manuscripts of the usual type.⁸⁹ The situation which we meet in this ornament is, indeed, somewhat different from that observed in figural painting. The essential facts have been given by Professor Weitzmann already in 1935, so I do not need to go into detail.⁹⁰

It is only from the eleventh century on that Greek manuscripts from Italy are more closely dependent on models from Constantinople. This agrees with

⁸⁴ R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale (Histoire, Classement, Paléographie)*, ST, 183 (Vatican City, 1955), *passim*, for the history of monastic libraries and centers of calligraphy. For the acquisition of books at Rome, see Gay, *op. cit.*, 277.

⁸⁵ Gay, *op. cit.*, 278.

⁸⁶ Cf. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 82–88 with figs. 553–607, and Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, *passim*.

⁸⁷ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, 82f. and figs. 558–71, and Grabar, *op. cit.*, 31ff., no. 11, and figs. 68–86.

⁸⁸ For the Greek MS at Milan, Ambros. B 56 Sup., fol. 24, cf. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, 87 and fig. 601, and Grabar, *op. cit.*, 72f., no. 43 and fig. 320. For the Cassinese MS, cf. A. M. Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023 illustranti l'enciclopedia medioevale del Rabano Mauro* (Monte Cassino, 1896).

⁸⁹ Grabar, *op. cit.*, 96.

⁹⁰ See *supra*, note 86.

what we know from the sources. There is the well-known case of St. Bartholomew, founder of the Patirion who, in the early twelfth century, went to Constantinople to acquire not only books, but also such icons and sacred vessels as St. Nilus had rejected with contempt.⁹¹ Professor Grabar argues that the manuscripts of this period have lost contact with Latin models, and that it is only now that one may speak of "provincial Byzantine products" in the proper sense.⁹² As a matter of fact, the manuscripts Grabar has in mind are of a much higher quality, in respect of both parchment and calligraphy, than their predecessors and, furthermore, they follow models of pure Byzantine provenance. Yet, even then the borrowings from Latin books did continue, although they were made—and this is the essential point—with more restraint and more discrimination, since Greek models provided a real alternative to Latin ones.

A good example of such borrowings is offered by codex Vat. gr. 1646, allegedly from the Patirion of St. Bartholomew, and dating from the year 1118 (fig. 35).⁹³ The headpiece of the Prologue to the text (a work by Maximus Confessor) is a rather hybrid mixture of several Byzantine features with a Latin one, although at first sight it looks perfectly normal and even elegant. Both the panel at the top and the two double columns are of a Byzantine type. However, Byzantine manuscripts avoid having such a panel supported by columns, which would be reserved for other superstructures such as arcades. In addition, although the pattern of roundels is very common in this kind of headpiece, the fillings of the roundels do not faithfully copy authentic Sassanid flowers but are "fakes" for they are composed of interlace work of the Cassinese type (fig. 36).⁹⁴

We can conclude, then, that Monte Cassino, by now more famous than ever before, still furnished stimuli for schools of Greek calligraphy as far south as Calabria. We may even go one step further. It has been regarded as a possibility that Greek eleventh-century manuscripts such as codex Casin. gr. 431 were actually produced by the great Latin mother abbey herself,⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Vita S. Bartholomaei Abb. Conf.*, in *ActaSS Sept.*, VIII, 821f. For the library and the scriptorium of the Patirion, see P. Battifol, *L'abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane* (Paris, 1891), *passim*, and G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei MSS greci di Genova di varie badie Basiliiane d'Italia e di Patmo*, ST, 68 (1935), esp. 85ff. and 292ff.

⁹² See *supra*, note 89.

⁹³ *Codices Vaticani graeci 1485–1683*, C. Giannelli ed. (Vatican City, 1950), 364ff.; Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, 19 note 8, pl. iv; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 47f., no. 27, and fig. 165. I cannot see the reasons for Grabar's reference to 10th-century models of south Italian provenance for the ornament of this MS. It combines ornament types of very different origins, but uses the same color scheme, blue, red, and ochre, throughout. On fol. 91, we meet a typical "Laubsäge-Ornament" though on yellow ground instead of on gold. The most composite type, which reveals a knowledge of a good many Byzantine (Constantinopolitan?) and Latin MSS, is offered by the headpiece on fol. 1 (our fig. 35).

⁹⁴ For cod. Casin. 109, cf. *supra*, note 50.

⁹⁵ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 84 and fig. 572; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, 67, no. 38, and fig. 285. The MS is dated to the years 1011–35. An interesting, though earlier and somewhat different, testimony of the production of a Greek MS for a Greek client by a Latin scriptorium is the Psalter Hamilton 552, in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin (N. A. Bees, in *BNJbb*, 12 [1936], 119–28). It is bilingual and was written for a certain Symeon, presbyter and hegoumenos το ΠΘΘΟ (*sic*), in the Sant'Ambrogio monastery at Milan in the time of abbot Peter II (858–99) by the Latin scribe Magnus. The ornaments are clearly Lombard.

though we do not have any proof to support this conjecture. Now, the same question may be raised concerning a particular Greek manuscript *de luxe* which is unmatched by any other in its lavish make-up. I am referring to the Salerno Purple Roll that I mentioned above.⁹⁶ It is dated to about 1100 by its liturgical commemoration of Bishop Alphanus of Salerno, a former monk at Monte Cassino, and of the Norman Duke Roger.

What is fascinating about this Roll is the obvious familiarity of its painter with the types of initials in the finest Constantinopolitan manuscripts,⁹⁷ combined with an equally intimate knowledge of Latin ornament as produced at Monte Cassino (fig. 37). The letter "S" (figs. 38, 39), composed of the bodies of two antithetic animals, exemplifies the Cassinese types.⁹⁸ While our painter might have become acquainted with this particular Monte Cassino letter type outside the abbey, another initial can be traced back to a surviving manuscript, which was kept at Monte Cassino as late as the sixteenth century and was one of the great treasures of the monastic library. I am referring to the famous Lectionary of about 1071, containing the *Life* of St. Benedict which not only provided the painter of the Salerno Roll with the Ottonian letter form and leaf ornament (stemming in turn from a Regensburg gospel), but also with the idea of placing the plain golden letter on a blue background.⁹⁹ The Greek initial "P" of the Purple Roll (fig. 40) is nothing but a somewhat reduced version of the Latin initial "T" in the Lectionary (fig. 41). In other words, it is a well-known Latin model which accounts for the unusual make-up of the Salerno Roll, and makes it one of the finest Greek manuscripts ever produced in Italy.

Since the model was kept at Monte Cassino, the Greek Roll must have been produced in close proximity of the abbey, if not, indeed, in the abbey itself. The fact that it reveals a knowledge of numerous Greek types of initial does not contradict our conjecture, but, rather, supports it. Monte Cassino, as a radiating center of the fine arts, appears to have outshadowed most, if not all, of the other places in Southern Italy, at least in the latter half of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ See *supra*, note 16.

⁹⁷ The difference, in style and type, of the initials is not to be explained, as Father A. Strittmatter proposed (see *supra*, note 16), by different hands, but by the use and conscious mixture of very different elements. As for the Greek models, which, however, never appear in a pure style, cf. some outstanding MSS in the National Bibliothek of Vienna, such as Theol. gr. 62, fol. 202, and, for the griffin initial, Theol. gr. 63, fol. 237^v (P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, 2, in *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, ed. F. Wickhoff, IV.2 [Leipzig, 1938], pls. xli.2 and xlii.4).

⁹⁸ For the comparison with an initial of cod. Casin. 109, p. 311, see *supra*, note 50.

⁹⁹ Vat. lat. 1202, fol. 231^v. See *supra*, note 62.

¹⁰⁰ I am grateful to Prof. G. Cavallo, Rome, for his generous advice on the question of origin for the Borgiano Roll. In a letter, he informs me that he rather thinks of an Italo-Greek scriptorium in the neighborhood of Salerno and Capua, but excludes Monte Cassino, "in quanto a M.C. sembra che non si siano mai scritti mss greci nè che vi siano mai stati scribi greci: gli stessi palinsesti con la prima scrittura greca e la seconda beneventana vergata a M.C., mostrano di essere di altra origine per quanto riguarda la prima scrittura greca." It seems necessary for art historians to cooperate more closely with palaeographers than has been the case in regard to the MSS which Prof. Grabar has published.

It might be considered a possibility, therefore, that another unusual object, equipped likewise with Greek lettering, originated in the abbey itself. The treasure of the cathedral of Zadar houses a reliquary casket for the head of St. Oronzo/Orontius which, according to an inscription of uncertain date, had been commissioned by one *Sergius, nepos Zallae*.¹⁰¹ Today, it is encased in a fifteenth-century mounting made on behalf of the Pesaro family, which supplied two bishops at Zara in the following century. What interests us here are three thin plates of silver, partly gilded, which today are mounted, together with the remains of a fourth one, on the casket in a somewhat arbitrary manner (fig. 42). They are dependent on Byzantine models not only in their technique but also in style, although they were executed by the hand of a Latin artist. Several of the figures of saints represented on the plates reveal a close resemblance with Byzantine eleventh-century figures; compare, for instance, the figure of St. Vitalis with that of St. Bacchus in a fresco at Hosios Loukas (fig. 43). The acanthus scroll running below the saints under the arcade is of a type frequently found on Islamic ivories from the region of Salerno.¹⁰² But the evidence for an Italian provenance comes from the names of the saints which are written, badly, in Greek letters. The inscriptions identify them as the twelve brothers whose relics were kept in the church of S. Sophia at Benevento, the native town of abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino—saints who are unknown to the Byzantine calendar.¹⁰³ The plates on the Zadar reliquary, therefore, were made in a Latin workshop for a local Greek patron. And the only place in Southern Italy which is recorded as having an atelier that specialized in repoussé work of the Byzantine kind lay outside the Greek province proper.¹⁰⁴ It was, once again, Monte Cassino.

¹⁰¹ I owe the knowledge of this casket to Dr. Z. Tosić, New York. The three plates mentioned below measure 124 × 157 mm., 138 × 202 mm., and 118 × 203 mm. The measures of the casket are 160 (height) × 280 × 170 mm. Cf. C. Cecchelli, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia: Zara* (Rome, 1932), 48 ff.; M. Suić, *Muzeji i Zbirke Zadra* (Zagreb, 1954), 108; M. Krleža, *Zlato i srebro Zadra*, Izdavački Zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije (n.d.), pls. 3–6.

¹⁰² E. Kühnel, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des VIII.–XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1971), pl. I.

¹⁰³ The names of the saints read: Felix, Vitalis, Satorus, Repositus, Septiminus, Januarius, Arontios (*sic*), Honoratus, Fornati . . . (for Fortunatus), Sabinianus. These are the names of the alleged twelve brothers whose relics, as being those of *patriae patrones*, were transferred from various parts in south Italy to Benevento in 760 where they became the great treasure of Santa Sofia. See *BHL*, I (Brussels, 1898–99), nos. 1297, 2300–2, and *ActaSS Sept.*, I, 129 ff. and 155 ff. For the dates and for the meaning of this cult, cf. H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 141 ff., esp. 156 f. and 181. Only Donatus and the second Felix are missing. They would fit into the missing fourth side, which, as the second, was a short side.

¹⁰⁴ *Chron. Cas.*, III. 32 (MGH, SS, VII, 723). Cf. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen* (as in note 68 *supra*), 682, no. 2857, and translated by Holt, *A Documentary History of Art* (*supra*, note 11), 16: "Three other square icons were made of the same metal, size and way [cf. as other icons, which a monk from Monte Cassino had made of solid silver and gilded in Constantinople] at the order of Desiderius by his own artists . . . He also made two large silver crosses, each weighing 30 pounds, on which the images were of beautiful embossed work [*caelatura mirifica*]." A Byzantine example of a silver casket with figures of saints under arcades is known to me only from later times: cf. the reliquary with the four martyrs of Trebizond in the treasure of St. Mark's (*Il Tesoro e il Museo*, Il Tesoro di San Marco, ed. H. E. Hahnloser, II [Florence, 1971], no. 33, p. 39 f.).

Comparisons with Byzantine metalwork of the 11th century are manifold, though not decisive in any one case. They are satisfactory for the leaf work of the capitals which, however, never occurs in precisely this function, i.e., applied to capitals. For this, and also for the figures of the saints, see

a reliquary of slightly later date in the Hermitage, Leningrad (A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* [Leningrad, 1966], fig. 199). The dating of our reliefs to the 12th century proposed by A. Legner (*Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 33 [1971], 386ff.), seems to me to be too late. Possible comparisons also offers the Bari *Exultet* 1 (see *supra*, note 12) in the borders, esp. in the peculiar leaf work (Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. ix, upper half).

Another set of south Italian silver reliefs which have attracted little attention, was once published as part of the collection Martin Le Roy at Paris (J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue raisonné de la collection Martin Le Roy*, I [Paris, 1906], 5ff. and pls. II–III). They are of 12th-century date and are said to come from Naples. They represent the Annunciation, the Enthroned Virgin, Christ and the Apostles, and Pentecost. They are strikingly close to their Byzantine models and, therefore, should be used as evidence of lost Byzantine works. For a general survey of Italian works of this kind, see A. Morassi, *Antica oreficeria italiana* (Milan, 1936), and E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania* (Benevento, 1959).